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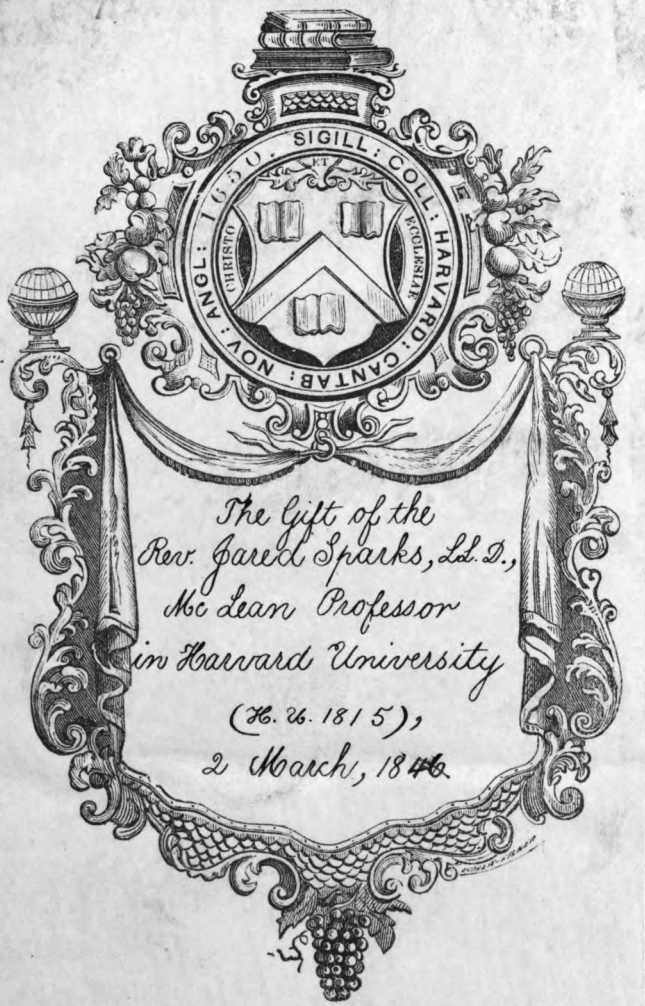
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AN

INQUIRY

INTO

THE MERITS

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY:

AND

A REPLY TO THE CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST IT.

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE

BRITISH AFRICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

BY

THOMAS HODGKIN, M.D.

Cupio me esse clementem.—Cic.

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THE following pages are designed to serve as an inquiry into, and reply to, the charges which have been made against the American Colonization Society. Necessity, rather than choice, has led me to expose the exceptionable conduct of some of its adversaries. It has been painful to me to observe, that several estimable characters are to be found in the ranks of these adversaries; and still more so, to know that there are some amongst them whose friendship I value, and should be grieved to lose. It has been a source of considerable regret to me, that the following pages were not ready for the press before William Lloyd Garrison left this country, as I originally intended they should be. I believe him to be a sincere and ardent well-wisher of his Coloured countrymen. For this, he is justly entitled to our regard: yet, whilst we cannot but pity him for the unjustifiable persecution which he has suffered, we must at the same time avow our opinion, that the measures which his zeal has led him to take, have often been impolitic and injurious; and that, in his attack on the Colonization Society, he has mistaken, and treated as an enemy, the most powerful ally which his cause ever possessed, and employed against it weapons which neither truth nor justice can sanction.

In conformity with the motto in the title-page, I have purposely left unnoticed several circumstances; which, though they might furnish the friends of the Colonization Society with just grounds for complaint, do not appear essential to its defence.

If, in the course of the following inquiry, I have made use of some expressions, with reference to the unhappy condition of the Coloured People in America, which may be thought offensive by any Citizens of the United States, I beg them to consider to whom these remarks are addressed; and to accept the assurance of my esteem, respect, and admiration of the many wise and good men, to whom they by no means apply. As the friends of the Colonization Society have been most unjustly charged with being the advocates and perpetuators of slavery, and hostile to the interests of the People of Colour, it was incumbent upon us to declare, in strong and unequivocal expressions, our disapprobation of the treatment of that injured race.

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AN

INQUIRY

&c. &c.

Although the American Colonization Society has met with great opposition in this country, and that, in some instances, from individuals whose philanthropic motives are too well known to admit of doubt, yet there has, perhaps, never been an object held up for the censure of the British public, respecting which it was more imperatively necessary to hear both sides of the question, before proceeding to pass sentence. In looking for the causes which have led some of the prominent philanthropists of this country to take the part which they have done in this attack, there are two which it seems essential to notice. The first of these, although it will perhaps be absolutely disclaimed, has, I am persuaded, exercised a powerful though latent influence:—I allude to the efforts which have been made, by popular writers, to cultivate the pernicious weed of national prejudice against our trans-atlantic brethren. And secondly, the almost universal prejudice which indisputably exists on the part of the Americans against their Coloured countrymen—a prejudice which has, probably, contributed more than any other feature in their character to create and foster that feeling which I have already, with pain, admitted on the part of my own countrymen. My object in the following pages is, to induce a fair discussion (in which I beg that British prejudice may take no part) of the merits of those measures which have been devised and adopted by many virtuous and enlightened Americans, who are anxiously solicitous to benefit their Coloured countrymen, but who have, in this design, to contend with the American prejudice alluded to. I conceive that we owe the impartial consideration of this subject to our character as Christians; which certainly calls upon us to pause, before we unite in the very harsh censures which have been bestowed on motives and actions which receive the cordial approbation of the wise and good of America. I could wish that it would suffice for my present purpose to point out the many and weighty advantages, not only promised, but secured, by the enlightened councils of the American Colonization Society: but the opponents of that society have made, and again and again reiterated, charges, which they call upon its friends to meet, and which it therefore appears to be their bounden duty to do. I wish it however to be expressly understood, that if—in my present attempt to defend a society which I conceive, not less from its benevolent design than from its important prospects, justly claims the support of all true philanthropists—I shall be under the necessity of pointing out instances of palpable injustice on the part of its adversaries, I do so with pain and regret, and not from feelings of animosity: I wish rather that I could induce some of those, who are arrayed against us, to unite their efforts with ours. Should I fail in this respect, I may yet indulge the hope, that those who may still be neutral, will pause, and form their judgment of the American Colonization Society from its own

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avowed principles, and from the positive good which it has already achieved, rather than from the fallacious inferences and premature judgment of its avowed enemies. It has been objected against the Colonization Society, that its origin was bad, and that it was instituted by slaveholders and the advocates of slavery. Although it is true, that amongst the founders of this society there were several citizens of the Southern States, some of whom were possessed of slaves, it does not necessarily follow that the design was bad, or that it is to be regarded as strictly the contrivance of slaveholders. The sufferings and degradation of the Coloured population of America had for more than half a century, excited the sympathy and compassion of very many benevolent and virtuous citizens: in fact, the writings and labours of such men as Lay and Sandeford, Woolman and Benezet, and Tyson and Rush, effected much, not only in America, but even in this country; both in diffusing just views as to the iniquity of the slave-trade and slavery, and in exciting an interest in behalf of its victims. Numerous institutions were formed for their benefit, which it is needless here to particularize: some of these have assumed the office, if not the name, of Anti-Slavery Societies: they do not, however, seem ever to have been able to produce any great influence on the minds of the citizens of America, but, on the contrary, have excited the jealousy and displeasure of the inhabitants of the Southern or slave-holding States. Even in the Northern States, in which slavery has ceased, it does not appear that its abolition is to be referred to the influence of these societies, but to the operation of natural causes. It is well known, that a difference of opinion between the Northern and Southern States, on the subject of slavery, introduced itself into various political and commercial as well as moral questions, and was regarded by many as menacing the peace, if not the existence, of the Union. It is very necessary that this state of things should be fully taken into account by the Abolitionists of this country, when they are sitting in judgment on their trans-atlantic coadjutors. Whilst a direct attack on the system of slavery in the South appeared to hold out little or no prospect of advantage, the cause of the Blacks was not to be abandoned. Long before the formation of the Colonization Society at Washington, in 1817, the plan of colonization had been recommended in various quarters, and by individuals of different classes and opinions. On the authority of the American Quarterly Review, England may claim the merit of originating the plan of colonizing the Blacks in Africa.

In 1787, that distinguished philanthropist, Granville Sharp, was the means of colonizing, at the suggestion, it is believed, of Dr. Fothergill, about 400 Negroes at Sierra Leone. That colony has since been repeatedly recruited by Free Blacks, sent thither, from various quarters, by this country.

Dr. Thornton, in 1787, proposed the subject of the colonization of the People of Colour on the coast of Africa, to the people of Boston, and of Providence (Rhode Island).

In 1789, Samuel Hopkins, an eminent Minister of Newport in Rhode Island, proposed to Granville Sharp the colonization of educated and industrious Blacks from New England, in his new settlement. Happy had it been for England, America, and Africa, had this scheme been carried into effect!

In 1790, Ferdinando Fairfax, of Richmond, U.S., proposed the colonization of the Free People of Colour.

The President Jefferson, in conjunction with some other Virginians, turned his attention to this object about the year 1801.

The Free Blacks themselves were not inactive in promoting their own colonization of Africa.

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Captain Paul Cuffee was a zealous and indefatigable labourer in this cause, to which he devoted his time and his property.

Some years before the formation of the American Colonization Society, the Free Blacks of Providence, in Rhode Island, subscribed a sum of money; and deputed one of their body to visit the coast of Africa in search of a territory suited to their purpose of emigration. Their wishes were defeated by the dishonesty of their agent.

The Free People of Colour, on the banks of the Wabash, have repeatedly expressed a similar desire.

To Robert Finley, of New Jersey, is to be ascribed the merit of reducing this scheme to a practical form, by the successful institution of the Colonization Society. This he effected, after much labour, on the first day of the year 1817.

The preceding facts clearly prove that the colonization of the People of Colour is not to be regarded, as some have urged, as a slaveholder's scheme: it cannot even be admitted, without injustice, that the patronage which the Colonization Society receives from the inhabitants of slave States, and even from the owners of slaves, is any blot upon its character, or any proof of the erroneousness of its principle. Many of the citizens of these States are to be pitied, rather than blamed, for belonging to the class of slaveholders. They very sensibly feel the evils of slavery; but are either prevented by law from manumitting their slaves, or are opposed by difficulties which amount to a prohibition. If they liberate their Blacks, and send them to a State in which slavery has been abolished, they may be congratulated by their British friends that they have washed their hands of the guilt of slavery; but, comparatively, in few instances can they console themselves with the idea that they have improved the condition of their former slaves; for, on reaching the free State, to which, at a heavy expense, they may have been conveyed, they will find themselves belonging to a class of society generally occupied in the most menial and unproductive offices, and already sufficiently numerous to render even employment of this kind not always attainable. They are, therefore, not merely in a miserable condition themselves, but they contribute to increase the misery of the class to which they belong. This is an evil which we must not wholly attribute to the distinction of colour, and the prejudice which attends it. Something of the same kind may be seen and felt even in this country, when a large emigration from the sister island has glutted the labour market.

The philanthropic citizens of the South, who either feel or witness the difficulties in the way of manumission, may be very reasonably expected to become conspicuous as supporters of a plan calculated not only to co-operate with their own benevolence, but to relieve themselves: they are not, however, the sole supporters, any more than they were the sole inventors of the colonization system. This is shewn by the number of auxiliary societies existing in the Free States, and by the sums of money which these societies, and individuals in the same States, have contributed to the support of African colonization. Some of those individuals, whose personal exertions have been among the most important elements of the society's success, have been citizens of these States.

It has been objected by the enemies of the Colonization Society, that it has been exhibited to the friends of humanity in this country under a false character, very different from that which it possesses in America;—that whilst it is advocated, on this side the Atlantic, as the means of benefiting the Blacks, and promoting the ultimate extinction of slavery, no such idea is

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expressed in its fundamental principle; but that, on the contrary, it advocates an opposite doctrine.

In support of the first assertion, they quote, from the minutes of the formation of the society, the declaration, that "its single object is the colonization of the Free People of Colour, *with their consent*, in Africa, or such other place as Congress may deem most expedient." I conceive that the founders of the society are entitled to praise, rather than censure, for having given so brief, and, at the same time, so comprehensive a definition of their object. It sets forth explicitly abundant work for any society to undertake, without advancing any thing which can come in collision with the expressed or even secret opinions of any parties or individuals, unless it be of those who believe that the well-being of the Blacks will be promoted in proportion to the increase of their numbers within the States—a doctrine which appears to have originated since the formation of the Colonization Society. The fundamental principle of the Colonization Society may be compared with that of the Bible Society, when it avows its object to be the diffusion of the pure text of the Old and New Testaments, without note or comment—an object to which none could be opposed who were not hostile to the Bible. It cannot however be supposed that the supporters of the Bible Society merely contemplated the scattering of Bibles and Testaments, from which no other effect was to proceed than the mere occupation of space: they looked forward to their becoming the powerful agents of an enlightening and moralizing influence. But if we interrogate the members of that society individually, we shall probably find, that, besides the one object in which they all cordially unite, there are other inducements, differing in each, and which could not be brought forward without their again becoming, as they already too often have done, the subjects of schismatic convulsion and violent dispute. If, however, we wish to gain information respecting the results which the Colonization Society is supposed to regard as rendering its avowed object desirable, we cannot look to a better quarter for information than to the publications of the society itself. In fact, we have our opponent's example in support of this measure; since, although they admit no good which cannot be found distinctly indicated in the brief declaration of its object which I have before quoted, they have been very industrious in selecting causes of complaint founded on detached portions of addresses and speeches; some of which must be admitted as blemishes; while others lose their apparent deformity, when viewed in conjunction with the parts to which they belong. I shall therefore cite some passages which indicate the feelings and objects either of the Colonization Society collectively, or of individuals of acknowledged weight and influence in it.

Their principal motive appears to have been to benefit the Coloured population; and more especially that portion of it, which, though not literally loaded with servile chains, is nevertheless suffering from the pains of slavery, and, with but few exceptions, reduced to a miserable and degraded rank in society, and for whose assistance many comparatively unsuccessful efforts had previously been made. At the same time, the founders of the society were fully sensible that the baneful influence of slavery was by no means limited to these objects of their care, but that it was also generally felt by the great mass of the White population. There was, therefore, a combined motive of benevolence and self-interest: but I think we must do the projectors of the Colonization Society the justice to admit, that benevolence was their primary and principal motive; whilst the latter was rather prospective, and urged in support of their claims on the co-operation of

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their fellow-citizens in carrying their objects into effect. The following extracts from the society's own publications will shew what are these objects.

"They are, in the first place, to aid ourselves, by relieving us from a species of population pregnant with future danger and present inconvenience; to advance the interest of the United States, by removing a great public evil; to promote the benefit of the individuals removed, as well as those of the same race that yet remain; and, finally, to benefit Africa, by spreading the blessings of knowledge and freedom on a continent that now contains 150 millions of people, plunged in all the degradation of idolatry, superstition, and ignorance. All these objects are embraced in the vast enterprise in which we have engaged."—*From the Speech of* General Harper, 1824. *7th Report*, p. 7.

"Such is the history of the American Colonization Society. Its *design* is general—the benefit of the whole African race. Its plan of *operation* is specific—the establishment on the coast of Africa of a colony of *free* People of Colour from America. It is not a Missionary society, nor a society for the suppression of the slave-trade, nor a society for the improvement of the Blacks, nor a society for the abolition of slavery: it is simply a society for establishing a colony on the coast of Africa: and so far as any of these other objects are attained by its efforts, they must be attained either as the means or as the consequences of establishing that colony. But limited as are the operations of the institution, it appears to us to be the *only institution which promises any great or effectual result for the benefit of the Black population of our country.* A single glance at the condition of these beings, and at the obstacles which lie in the way of their improvement, is enough to convince us of this."—*Appendix to 7th Report*, p. 86.

"But there is another still more important character of the condition of our Coloured population, in comparison with which every other circumstance dwindles into insignificance, and from which all that we have already said is only a single necessary consequence; we mean, slavery: and on this subject we must express ourselves briefly, yet boldly. We have heard of slavery as it exists in Asia, and Africa, and Turkey; we have heard of the feudal slavery under which the peasantry of Europe have groaned from the days of Alaric until now; but, excepting only the horrible system of the West-India Islands, we have never heard of slavery in any country, ancient or modern, Pagan, Mahommedan, or Christian, so terrible in its character, so pernicious in its tendency, so remediless in its anticipated results, as the slavery which exists in these United States."—*Appendix to 7th Report*, p. 88.

"You are the last of Republics. You boast that it is the seat of freedom, of justice, of honour, of high and magnanimous feeling. The evil we would remedy is none of ours: was done before we were born, and it is left for us to undo. Lend u your aid, to strike the fetters from the slave, and to spread the enjoyment of unfettered freedom over the whole of our favoured and happy land."—*From the Speech of* General Fenton, *prefixed to the 7th Report*, p. 13.

Let it not be supposed that the sentiments expressed in the preceding extracts were not such as the society held at its commencement, but were subsequently assumed by it. I have not been able to see the first two Reports; but I find the following, amongst the "formal and official declarations of the sentiments of the society," extracted from the Second Report, published when the society, though formed, could not yet be said to be in operation.

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"II. That they had no desire or intention of interfering, in any way, with the rights or the interests of the proprietors of slaves.

"III. That they considered slavery a great moral and political evil; and cherished the hope and belief that the successful prosecution of their object would offer powerful motives and exert a persuasive influence in favour of voluntary emancipation."

The following citations are from the Third Report.—"For, although it is believed, and is indeed too obvious to require proof, that the colonization of the Free People of Colour, alone, would not only tend to civilize Africa, to abolish the slave-trade, and greatly to advance their own happiness, but to promote that also of the other classes of society, the proprietors and their slaves; yet the hope of the gradual and utter abolition of slavery, in a manner consistent with the rights, interests, and happiness of society, ought never to be abandoned."—P. 29.

"They do *not*, therefore, *intend*, and *they have not the inclination*, if they possessed the power, to *constrain* the departure of any Free Man of Colour from America, or to *coerce any proprietor to emancipate his slaves*."—P. 22.

"If much yet remains to be done, we may nevertheless look back with satisfaction upon the work which has been accomplished; and may, I trust, without presumption, indulge the hope that the time is not far distant, when, by means of those for whose happiness we are labouring, Africa will participate in the inestimable blessings which result from civilization—a knowledge of the Arts, and, above all, of the pure doctrines of the Christian Religion."—P. 3. *from the Speech of* BUSHROD WASHINGTON.

"If the seeds of civilization shall be strewed along the coast of Africa, and protected from the blighting influence of the slave-trade; if the chief impediment to gradual emancipation in America shall be removed; if, where slavery may continue to exist, the fidelity of the slave and the affection of the master shall be both augmented; if the Free People of Colour shall be permitted to enter on the career of moral and intellectual improvement in the land of their fathers, under the guarantee of political independence; if all or any considerable part of these blessings can be attained, by opening the door of Africa to the return of her liberated children; it will be no reproach to the Colonization Society that they have not civilized an entire continent, or disenthralled a nation."—P. 32.

The following extract from the Fifteenth Report will shew that the views of the society have not altered:—

"The plan of the society, however, is not only beneficent in its effects upon the Free People of Colour, and through them upon Africa, but, in its prosecution, a moral influence is exerted, to which it would seem impossible for any one to object, favourable to the voluntary and gradual emancipation and removal of the slaves. One of the most frequently urged, yet most groundless objections, 'then, to the society, that it strengthens the bonds and darkens the prospects of the slave population,' is refuted by facts numerous and undeniable. Many who were recently slaves in the United States have been sent by their masters as freemen to Liberia. Large numbers are now offered to the society (not the aged, infirm, and worthless, but the young, vigorous, and profitable); and funds alone are wanting, to enable it to receive and transport them."—P. 18.

It is evident, that whilst the society distinctly disavowed agitating the question of the manumission of slaves, from the prudential motives already stated, it nevertheless decidedly contemplated that it would indirectly, but powerfully, contribute to effect the extinction of slavery, by means which

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afforded no plea for the hostility or even the jealousy of the slaveholders. That this is the case, may be seen from the quotations already given. It is still further proved by the following:—

"And if our colony should exert a silent and persuasive influence to voluntary emancipation, &c., this, without constituting an objection, would enhance the importance of the society, and give new interest to the colony."

"The effect of this institution, if its prosperity shall equal our wishes, will be alike propitious to every interest of our domestic society: and should it lead, as we may fairly hope it will, to the slow but gradual abolition of slavery, it will wipe from our political institutions the only blot which stains them; and in palliation of which we shall not be at liberty to plead the excuse of moral necessity, until we shall have honestly exerted all the means which we possess for its extinction."—14*th Report*, 1831, p. 23.

"But it may be said, that the society has expressed the opinion that slavery is a moral and political evil; and that it has regarded the scheme of colonization as presenting motives and exerting a moral influence on the South, favourable to gradual and voluntary emancipation. This is true; and it is this, beyond all question, which has secured to it the countenance and patronage of our most profound and sagacious statesmen, and given to this scheme a peculiar attractiveness and glory, in the view of the enlightened friends of their country and mankind."—14*th Report*, 1831, p. 26.

"But though the charge of hypocrisy and inconsistency cannot be fixed upon the society, it may still be said, that however clearly its object and principles were originally developed, and however approved by Southern men, they are nevertheless hostile to the rights and interest of the South. But can this assertion be proved? We think it cannot; but, on the contrary, that our institution is adapted, by means unexceptionable, to relieve the Southern States from the acknowledged evil of a Free Coloured Population, while it demonstrates *how these States themselves* may, if they please, accomplish an object of still higher importance, to their political and moral welfare, to the honour of their character, and the augmentation of their wealth and their strength."—14*th Report*, 1831, p. 26. (The object here alluded to, I conceive to be the extinction of slavery.)

Another laudable object, which though not to be found in the short sentence which has been quoted as implying all that the Colonization Society intended to effect, but nevertheless explicitly advanced in the publications of the society, is the suppression of the African slave-trade; many pages of their Reports and Appendices being devoted to the exposure of the horrors of that abominable traffic, in terms as powerful and cogent as any that have been used by the friends of Africa in this country.

A volume might be compiled of those parts of the society's publications which relate to this subject. The following will suffice:—

"Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to prepare and present to the Congress of the United States, a Memorial, requesting that they will take such further steps as to their wisdom may seem proper, to ensure the entire abolition of the African slave-trade."—3*d Report*, 1820, p. 7.

"But whether such expectations are chimerical or not, there is an immense object to be gained by the efforts of the Colonization Society, in the entire suppression of the slave-trade."—7*th Report*, 1824, p. 101.

"How is this trade to be abolished? Experience teaches us, that no law, no treaties, stop it, though much more might be done. By laws and treaties it is already denounced; and yet nearly 100,000 slaves are annually taken from Africa, the victims of cormorant never-sated avarice. The

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slave-trade will exist as long as it can exist. So long as there are slave ships, there will be slaves to freight them. No peril of property or life will induce the slave-trader to abandon it. To suppress this trade, it must be made physically impossible. We must line the Western coast of Africa with civilized settlements. Two such already exist. I pass over Sierra Leone. Ours exerts a two-fold influence: on the one hand, it elevates the neighbouring tribes, and enlists them in its suppression: on the other, it presents to the slave-trader, whose soul no moral persuasion can reach, an effectual barrier."—14*th Report*, 1831, p.10.

" The Britishofficers have borne the most honourable testimony to the great benefit rendered to the service by the colony of Liberia. For a great distance north and south of it, the slave-trade is effectually stopped; and this not merely by show of hostile interference, but by the surer measure of luring the Natives to the more profitable business of peaceful commerce. Several powerful tribes have wholly renounced the trade in slaves, and have put themselves under the protection of the colony. The sole means of shutting up for ever the gate of this Satanic mischief, is the planting of a number of colonies of Free American Blacks along the coast: the ardent approbation and co-operation of England, France, and the Netherlands, may readily be had, to give them security; and perhaps the Spanish Bour bons, and the divided House of Braganza, may one day be tempted to a show of a little good faith in behalf of Africa, on this plan."—*From an Article favourable to the Colonization Society, in the " North-American Review," Dec.* 1832, p. 421.

Another object unequivocally expressed by the society, as of no less importance than the extinction of the African slave-trade, is the benefit of Africa, by the introduction of civilization and Christianity.

" The present condition of the Natives in the vicinity of the society's settlement is most favourable to the efforts of the philanthropist; and that an attempt to instruct them in the Arts and Christianity will be successful, seems almost certain."—6*th Report*, 1823, p. 16.

" But should the expectation of the Board, that the slave-trade will soon be stigmatized by the unanimous decision of all the Powers of Christendom, as an offence against the law of nations, be disappointed, much may be done towards its extermination by the influence of a colony which may open with the Natives a legitimate commerce, furnish them with agricultural utensils, instruct them in the Arts and true religion, and exhibit before them the superior happiness of a humane, industrious, and Christian people." —6*th Report*, 1823, p.16.

" We go to lay the foundation of a free and independent empire, on the coast of poor degraded Africa. It is confidently believed, by many of our best and wisest men, that if the plan proposed succeeds, it will ultimately be the means of exterminating slavery in our country. It will eventually redeem and emancipate a million and a half of wretched men. It will transfer to Africa the blessings of religion and civilization; and Ethiopia will soon stretch out her hands unto God."—*From the Speech of* Samuel J. Mills, *Appendix to 7th Report*, 1824, p. 98.

" Will it not be delightful, to watch the advances of the morning; to see the light breaking in on one dark habitation of cruelty, and another; to see the shadows of heathenism fleeing away, and the delusions, which have so long terrified the ignorant pagans, vanishing; to see one tribe after another coming to the light of Zion, and to the brightness of her rising; to see Ethiopia waking and rising from the dust, and looking abroad on the

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day, and stretching out her hands to God; and the day-light still spreading and kindling and brightening, till all the fifty millions of Africa are brought into the 'glorious light and liberty of the sons of God?'"—*Appendix to 7th Report*, 1824, p.102.

"To Africa, it offers the suppression of the slave-trade, while it presents in bold perspective the brightest prospects of future civilization and refinement."—*Appendix to 7th Report*, 1824, p.105.

"It cannot fail, because it is calculated to ensure (in part, at least) not only the future prosperity of all the domestic relations of this country, but also to effect the intellectual and moral renovation of Africa, whose claims upon America, and the nations of Europe, are marked with a peculiarity unknown to the demands of any other people."—*Appendix to 7th Report*, 1824, p.111.

"Who can view this colony without interest? It promises to prove a blessed asylum for a wretched people. It is already, to the African tribes, like 'a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid.' A thousand barbarians, who have long made merchandise of their brethren, and been regarded themselves as the objects of a bloody and accursed traffic, come within its gates, and are taught the doctrine of immortality—the religion of the Son of God. Heaven forbid that this colony should perish! for its influence to the most abject, injured, and miserable of our race will be cheering as 'the day-spring from on high,' and 'salutary as the waters of life.'"—*8th Report*, 1825, pp. 13, 14, &c. &c.

"We believe, as firmly as that we now live, that at least the coast of Guinea is, in no great lapse of time, to undergo a purification, by the instrumentality of Liberia."—*American Quarterly Review*, *Dec.*1832, p.422.

But, it will be asked, how are these indications of the good intentions of the Colonization Society to be reconciled with the assertions which have been so industriously promulgated by its opponents, supported, as they represent, by the writings of the society and the speeches of its members. I shall not pretend to answer every individual citation which those opponents have adduced: this would lead me to a far greater length than would suit either my time or my inclination: moreover, some of these quotations are taken from Numbers of the African Repository, to which I have been unable to obtain access. The instances which I shall notice are, however, those on which our opponents lay the greatest stress, as is clearly shewn by the repeated use which they have made of some of them. I shall endeavour to shew, that some of those quotations entirely lose the character and tendency which they are cited as exhibiting, when taken with the context from which they have been severed; whilst others cease to appear objectionable, when the circumstances under which they were composed are fairly considered. It has been represented in this country, that the American Colonization Society aims at nothing less than the banishment of the Free People of Colour from the United States; although this is disclaimed and disproved, as I shall hereafter make evident. The society is accused of having been accessary to the enactment of those oppressive and unjust laws, by which the codes of some of the States are disfigured. William Lloyd Garrison, after enumerating some of these acts, such as the banishment of the Coloured inhabitants of Ohio—the prohibition of instruction, even in Sunday Schools, by Louisiana (which makes the second commission of this offence capital)—the banishment of Free Negroes, by Virginia, under pain of being sold as slaves—the law passed by the same State, that all emancipated slaves who should remain more than twelve months, contrary

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to the law, should revert to the executors as assets—those of Georgia and North Carolina, imposing a heavy tax or imprisonment on every Free Person of Colour who should come into their ports in the capacity of stewards, cooks, or seamen of any vessel belonging to the non-slave-holding States —those of Tennessee, forbidding Free Blacks coming into the State to stay more than twenty days; and prohibiting manumission, without immediate removal from the State—those of Maryland, forbidding any Free Black to settle in that State; and making it unlawful for Free Blacks to attend any meetings for religious purposes, unless the preacher be White—" all these proscriptive measures," says Lloyd Garrison, " and others less conspicuous, but equally oppressive, which are not only flagrant violations of the Constitution of the United States, but in the highest degree disgraceful and inhuman, are resorted to (to borrow the language of the Secretary, in his Fifteenth Annual Report), *for the more complete accomplishment of the great objects of the Colonization Society.*" I confess I was amazed at this quotation; and anxiously turned to the Report, to discover if it afforded any explanation of such extraordinary language. Neither the words in question, nor any paraphrase of them, is to be found in that Report; but in a short paragraph prefixed to it, I find the words pointed out by Lloyd Garrison, as a quotation, but without having the most distant connection with the obnoxious Acts which Lloyd Garrison enumerates; those Acts not being even mentioned or hinted at. I will not apply any epithet to this mode of employing a quotation; but I must beg the reader to keep this specimen in mind, when he may meet with other quotations which appear to be at variance with the principles and practice of the society. The Colonization Society, so far from being an accessory, or in any manner concerned with the passing of the oppressive Acts above mentioned, has distinctly reprobated them, in its publications. Its adversaries have not even the semblance of foundation for the charge. The accusation of William Lloyd Garrison offers a striking parallel to that which the Wolf is fabled to have made against the Lamb. The Acts alluded to were, in part, passed before the existence of the Colonization Society; and with regard to others, its position is below them in the stream of events, whilst it endeavours to relieve those who are the victims of their operation. The real cause of the passing of the oppressive Acts in question, and others of a similar character, is, I conceive, to be traced, as a natural and lamentable consequence, to the iniquitous system of slavery itself. The bond and the free will inevitably be struggling against each other with mutual aggressions; and the utmost caution and prudence are required on the part of those who are labouring in the good work of destroying that system, lest, in the mean time, they should so excite the feelings of both parties, as to multiply those aggressions, by which the weaker will, of course, be the greater sufferers.

I now proceed to notice an inference which has been drawn unfavourable to the society; and which, as being founded on statistical data, may be regarded as exempt from adventitious colouring, and therefore as unquestionable authority. It is much to be regretted that the misrepresentations of the enemies of Liberia should (for a time at least) have drawn that distinguished philanthropist, James Cropper, into their ranks. It is stated in his pamphlet, entitled, 'The Extinction of the American Colonization Society the First Step to the Abolition of Slavery,' that " there has of late been a great change in the disposition of the American slaveholders. Formerly, emancipation went on as in other slave countries; so that the Free Blacks had increased from 59,465, which was their number in 1790, to 186,446, in 1810;

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shewing a very large increase from emancipation: but between that time and the census taken in 1830, they have only increased to 319,599, shewing scarcely any thing beyond the natural increase. Had emancipation continued at the same rate, there would have been, in 1830, 584,578: thus, no less than 264,979 are now held in slavery, who would have been made free but for this change in feeling."—Two or three circumstances concur to render this statement, as well as the inference drawn from it, fallacious; even supposing that the coincidence of the change exhibited in the statement with the existence of the Colonization Society could be admitted as a fair proof that the one was the cause of the other. The period from 1810 to 1830, which is compared with the previous twenty years, includes several years in which the Colonization Society did not exist, as well as several more in which it was struggling for existence, and cannot be supposed to have exerted the smallest influence on the manumission of slaves. During this second period, the impediments to manumission have been greatly increased by the slave-holding States; not only without any reference to the Colonization Society, but even before its existence: we must therefore look to these impediments as the real causes of any apparent falling off in the process of emancipation. To them, also, we must refer the fact, that the number of the Free Coloured population cannot be correctly gathered from the census; since many individuals, who have been desirous of manumitting their slaves, have been prevented by the laws in question, and, though they may have made them virtually free, have retained them in nominal slavery.

I have advanced these reasons on the supposition that there may have been an apparent diminution in the number of emancipations; but I find, that when the Tables of American Population are viewed in a different aspect, the result is the very reverse of that offered by the above quotation. This will at once be seen, by inspection of the following Table, shewing the progressive Increase of the Free People of Colour in the United States of America.

Census 1790.	Census 1800.	Ratio of Increase per Cent.	Census 1810.	Ratio of Increase per Cent.	Census 1820.	Ratio of Increase per Cent.	Census 1830.	Ratio of Increase per Cent.
59,466	108,395	82, 28	186,446	71, 99	223,398	19, 81	319,467	43, 003

From the above, it appears that the rate of increase had fallen off considerably at the census of 1810; but that this was most remarkably the case between that year and 1820, at which time the Colonization Society was only beginning to be known, and had sent so few settlers as scarcely to have demonstrated the practicability of the scheme. In the succeeding ten years, during which the society was more known and more efficient, the rate of increase of the People of Colour has rapidly augmented. We do not, however, wish to press any inference from this result, any further than as setting aside that of our opponents. The Free Coloured population of the United States has been subjected to numerical fluctuation from so many causes—amongst which may be mentioned the abolition of slavery by the States of New York and Pennsylvania, the accession of Louisiana, and emigration to Hayti—that it is in vain to draw any inference from the complicated results.

Great pains are taken by the enemies of the Colonization Society to represent it as inflicting banishment on the Free People of Colour, notwith-

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standing the express declaration of the society contained in that very sentence, which, when it suits their views, they are studious to represent as expressing the literal and exact limit of the society's operations. In that sentence it is declared, in the most pointed manner, that it is their aim to remove the Free People of Colour *with their own consent.* I cannot find, in any of the writings of our opponents, the slightest attempt at proof that the society has, in any instance, violated its principle in this respect. They do not so much as hint at the occurrence of one example of a Coloured individual having been conveyed from America to Africa, under the auspices of the society, against his own wish. It is really surprising, when we consider that the society has in many instances conveyed whole families to avoid inflicting the pain of separation upon relations—an evil often felt to attend emigration from this country, but never, that I am aware of, attended to, even by those who have advocated emigration upon philanthropic principles—I say, I consider it remarkable, that whilst the American Society has removed entire families, instances have not occurred of its having been necessary to use various inducements to prevail on individuals to emigrate, which our opponents might have cited, and wrested, in support of their assertions. Although our opponents have not attempted to substantiate the charge of compulsion in any particular case, the general charge constitutes their favourite accusation against us; and as it has certainly been that which has been the most readily, I may almost say eagerly, admitted in this country, and has operated as the most powerful cause which has limited the success of those who have endeavoured to obtain support for the Colonization Society amongst us, I will endeavour to examine the foundation on which this fictitious charge rests. I have already adduced one striking example of the mode in which this charge is made up; in which a perfectly innocent clause of a sentence, in the words of the Secretary of the society, is transplanted as his, and, for the first time, placed by the opponent himself in connection with oppressive measures. In a Number of one of the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society, in which this very untrue accusation is repeated, the incautious reader may easily be deceived, and led to believe that a written proof is furnished, in a quotation in which the application of force is distinctly inculcated. This, instead of being taken from any document connected with the Colonization Society, is really the sentiment of an individual unconnected with the society, and extracted from a debate in the Legislative Assembly of Virginia. In alluding to the statistical statement which has been advanced, in order to prove that the Colonization Society has been a check to manumission, as argued by James Cropper, I had occasion to object to the fallacy of making a coincidence in time an evidence of connection as cause and effect. It is even more important that this fallacious mode of inference should be set aside, with reference to the accusation which we are now considering; and I must beg every candid reader to be on his guard against the attempt which is made, in the total absence of proof that any coercion has been employed or recommended by the society, to lead him, by insinuations, to the belief that every oppressive measure that has been carried, or even proposed, in the United States is to be referred to the indirect agency of the Colonization Society; although not the slightest connection is attempted to be traced between them. I trust that what I have already advanced will be sufficient proof that the accusation made against the society, that it employs coercion to send away the Free Blacks to Liberia, cannot be maintained. Nathaniel Paul, an intelligent and well-informed North American of Colour, who is warmly

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interested in behalf of the Wilberforce Settlement, but decidedly opposed to the Colonization Society, does not attempt to press this accusation, as believed either by himself or by his brethren. With respect to this objection, he only states their fears that coercion may hereafter be resorted to. I am far from wishing to attach blame to those Persons of Colour who may entertain such fears, when I consider the means taken to excite their groundless suspicions: but if the society confine its operations to assisting those who are desirous to emigrate, and to giving an opportunity to those slaveholders who wish to emancipate their slaves, but have hitherto been restrained from doing so, an unexceptionable opportunity of carrying their laudable designs into execution—although its views and measures may be subject to a diversity of opinion—they cannot warrant the uncharitable censure which they have received.

It is certainly a premature, if not altogether a groundless fear, that the efforts of the Colonization Society will be the means of totally removing the Free People of Colour from the United States. When we consider, that their number, in 1830, amounted to 319,467; that they were increasing at the rate of upwards of 40 per cent. in ten years; and that there are upwards of 2,000,000 of slaves; it must, I conceive, be morally impossible wholly to remove so numerous, and at the same time so prolific, a class, which is not only widely dispersed, but must, in many instances, be firmly attached to the American soil. When to these considerations we add the fact, that the efforts of the Colonization Society have effected the emigration of little more than 3000 individuals in upwards of ten years, the apprehension in question appears almost ridiculous. It is, moreover, one of the inconsistencies of our opponents, that they have themselves exhibited this view of the subject. At the same time it must be admitted, that there are many enlightened Americans who contemplate and desire the removal of the People of Colour to a very considerable extent. They do so from no unjust or unkind principle, but from the same motives of benevolence and humanity which have ever been the principal support of the Colonization Society. There is every reason to believe that the removal of the Coloured People of America, to the utmost extent which the efforts of the Colonization Society can effect, so far from deserving reprobation, would be the happiest event which could take place for the benefit and elevation of the whole of the African race.

In almost all the discussions which I have heard respecting the merits of the Colonization Society, great stress has been laid, by its opponents, on the prejudice which exists in the United States against the People of Colour. The signal injustice and cruelty of this prejudice, formed the exciting subject of a powerful speech, in which the eloquence of O'Connell was brought forward, by the enemies to the Colonization Society, to crush or disperse its friends, and frustrate their efforts. I need not say how great was the effect of this address, on a subject so well suited to his talents; which are never more conspicuous and powerful than when oppression in general, and slavery in particular, is his theme. The oppression of the Blacks in the United States was no new subject for his philippic; but this I believe was the first occasion on which he had ever thought of connecting it with the beneficent exertions of the Colonization Society; and I do not hesitate to declare, that the stride, by which he passed from the one to the other, was as great as were the talents of the orator and their effect on his audience. Could O'Connell have found time to have made himself really master of both sides of the question, he might have made such a conclusion to his speech as would have told incomparably more in favour of the society than that which he

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did make has done against it. We have no wish to defend the prejudice of the Americans against the People of Colour; we hold it in as cordial abhorrence as our opponents can do; and we think we are taking measures for its removal, which promise to be more effectual than theirs. Let them be satisfied with holding it up in all its deformity, and making it the victim of their indignation in any manner which they may think best calculated to cause it to be deserted by those who have hitherto made it their idol; but let them not injure us by too indiscriminate an assault, whilst we endeavour, from another quarter, and by milder means, to draw off its worshippers. Since, however, the employment of these milder means has brought upon us the reproach that we refuse to assail the evils originating in, and supported by, this prejudice, it will be proper to consider how far this charge is correct, as well as the correctness of our policy in this respect.

It is represented, that the society refuses to assail — "1. The prejudices of the people of the United States against colour." 2. "The laws which proscribe and degrade the Coloured population;" and, 3. "The conduct of the American slave-owners." It must be admitted, that it forms a part of the principle and policy of the Colonization Society to avoid bringing itself into hostile collision with any class of the citizens of the United States, by waging war with their principles or prejudices. Their own views, however, may be sufficiently understood, from the extracts which I have already given. To these I may add the following, from the North-American Review. It must at the same time be observed, that the Colonization Society is not committed by all which may be there said on the subject:—"Justice to the society demands that it should be distinctly stated, that it has no share whatever in the Abolition question. Its whole sphere of operations is voluntary and peaceful: it is no propagandist of agitating opinions. It has its own private, independent course marked out; which it will pursue, though the abolition of slavery should never be mentioned again in any Legislature. Let no adversary of Abolition charge on it the odium (since with some it is odium) of that discussion, any where. It has confined itself, in all sincerity, to the removal of Free Persons of Colour, who may desire the same, to Africa; and to the preparation of means for the reception there of such slaves as might be manumitted by their masters, under the law of the States. Except by the peaceful and modest persuasive of the practicability of its scheme (now made manifest), and the certainty of its easy adaptation to the largest possible demand, it has not had, and never will have, any agency in creating an inclination to abolition."—*Dec.* 1832, p. 413.

"We direct ourselves almost exclusively to the injuries slavery inflicts on the Whites. The evil consequences of practising the immorality of slave-holding will not be our mark. Reproach, and recrimination, on such a subject, would answer no good purpose: it would naturally provoke defiance from the slave-holders. All the eloquent invectives of the British Abolitionists have not made one convert in the West Indies. This is no part of our humour. It is *our* object to lure Virginia onward in her present hopeful state of mind. We mean to confine every word we write to Virginia. The whole scope of this article will be *to shew the necessity of her promptly doing something to check the palpable mischiefs her prosperity is suffering from slavery.*"—*Dec.* 1832, p. 383.

Another objection urged against the Colonization Society is, that by removing a portion of the slave population it tends to perpetuate the slavery and oppression of those who remain; and that by taking away the Free Coloured population, it affords another prop to the system of slavery, by

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removing those who would come forward as the advocates and defenders of their brothers in slavery. In fact, many of the opponents of the Colonization Society evidently look forward to a time when the numerical preponderance of the Black population of the Southern States will enable them to extort their freedom, and the extinction of all their disabilities, whether founded in legislation or prejudice. I have not however met with any one practically acquainted with those States, whatever may be his sentiments with respect to slavery, who gives any support to the probability of such an event. It is well known that the Slave population of Jamaica, which bears a tenfold proportion to the Whites, compared with that which exists in Virginia, has hitherto been coerced by that small proportion: it cannot therefore be reasonably maintained that the Virginians, or the citizens of any other Southern State, are likely quietly to give up the point, through the influence of overawing numbers. They must be conscious, not only of their own superiority as to the means of defence, but also of the facility with which they can receive powerful and immediate assistance from the Northern States; in which respect the slave-holders of the Southern States of America are incomparably more secure than any of our insular colonists can be. When I reflect on the horrors which must inevitably attend a Servile war in America, I feel persuaded that it is an event which cannot be too ardently deprecated. It is therefore with no small surprise that I see those who profess to be advocates of peace and Christianity contemplating, with apparent complacency, the prospect of the extinction of slavery, as the fruits of such a struggle. Some, however, may perhaps imagine that the point would be given up without a contest; and that, in fact, they are only borrowing the argument of Marius, when he said to his fellow-citizens, "Ostendite bellum, et pacem habebetis." Without discussing the merits of this sentiment, which, as a Quaker, I may be allowed to reject, I will merely observe, that those who would apply it to the case before us, have greatly miscalculated the power and energy of the United States, if they think that they may be overawed by their Black population; as Carthage might have been by Rome, when she had already triumphed over and nearly crushed her. They would rather be impelled to adopt another sentiment, expressed during the memorable conflict between those rival cities; and "Delenda est Carthago," would be translated, "*Woe to the sons of Africa! let them be exterminated!*" Could the enemies of the Colonization Society be induced to look upon it with an unprejudiced eye, and behold it in its true colours, they would see that it possessed abundantly the happiest and surest means of averting such a calamity. As the objection which I am now considering is one which is very strongly and constantly urged by our opponents, I would wish it to be considered in one or two other points of view. I would therefore ask, Whether we have any instance of a slave-holding State ceasing to be so in consequence of the extreme increase of the number and proportion of its slaves? I believe it will be found, that precisely the reverse has been the case; and that slavery has been abolished, when the number of slaves has been considerably decreased. Now, one effect of the Colonization Society must be, by enabling those slaveholders who are uneasy with the possession of slaves to relieve their consciences in this respect; and, by introducing, in the place of slaves, free labourers, whom the Northern States and European emigration will readily supply, to bring into the State many new voters, to whom slavery is repugnant, and who cannot fail to accelerate the change which, there is great reason to hope, is already taking place, with respect to this subject, in the

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Legislatures of some of the Southern States. I would next beg the reader to remark, that the opponents to the Colonization Society are by no means consistent with themselves, when they urge the objection which I am now considering; seeing that they are avowed advocates of various other plans for the removal of the Coloured population. The first of these which I shall notice, is the Wilberforce Settlement in Canada. The nucleus of this settlement has been formed by Coloured citizens of the United States, who have been banished by the oppressive measures of the State of Ohio, and have been received and protected by the British Government. The colony has also been assisted by private subscriptions from this country; and it is held up as a place of retreat or refuge for those Blacks who wish to remove from the pains and penalties to which prejudice subjects them in the United States. In granting this merit to the colony at Wilberforce, it may very fairly be urged, that Liberia possesses the same advantages, and with incomparably less deduction; but if it be objected to Liberia, as a crime, that it reduces the Black population within the States, surely the same objection applies with equal force to the Canadian settlement! Although on the same continent, these emigrants are completely removed from the slave holding States, and even from the Union: but whilst the enemies to the Colonization Society overlook this objection in the one case, which they strongly urge in the other, they at the same time overlook other objections which attach themselves to the settlement at Wilberforce, but from which the settlement at Liberia is altogether exempt. In the first place, the climate presents an insuperable physiological objection to the settlement, as a Negro colony. I appeal to the valuable researches of Dr. Pritchard, in support of the assertion, that a population of African Race is not calculated to be permanent in the latitude of the Wilberforce Settlement; that it can only be kept up by successive emigration from the South; and that if left to itself, the White elements of its Mulatto population would gradually tend to preponderate over the Black. The attempt to colonize the African race in the North appears to me to be in evident opposition to the indications of nature; and to be very much like attempting to substitute the palm-trees of the same continent for the pines on the mountains of Norway. Another objection to the settlement at Wilberforce, which must powerfully tend to frustrate the benevolent intentions of those who patronise this or any other colony of Blacks, either within or closely-adjoining territories already in the occupation of Whites, is, that the colonists will necessarily have to compete with the Whites, and at the same time to contend with the violent and general prejudice existing against themselves. Already the Authorities of Canada, notwithstanding the disposition which they at first evinced to afford protection to the fugitives from Ohio, are beginning to feel jealous of the increase of the colony, by the arrival of fresh settlers. We cannot reckon upon the Blacks having what we may call fair play, within the influence of either this prejudice or jealousy; and must therefore look to a more remote situation, if we wish to let the Blacks have a fair opportunity for giving those proofs of their moral and intellectual qualities which will be the best antidote to the prejudice, from the effects of which they are now suffering. Another objection which attaches itself to the Wilberforce Settlement may be equally applied to any colony on the Continent of America. It must serve as a constant attraction and receptacle for runaway Blacks, whether escaping from slavery or from justice. This objection operates not only against the colony, but also against the People of Colour, whether slave or free, throughout the United States. Stronger measures will be taken by the masters to secure the pos-

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session of their slaves; who must, consequently, suffer greater restraint than at present; and the removal of People of Colour, whether bond or free, from one place to another, must be impeded by various checks, imposed with a view to intercept runaways. The accession of individuals of this class will not only have a degrading and demoralizing tendency on the colony itself, but will furnish a ground of complaint; similar to that which was urged, by the Georgians, against the settlements of the Creek and Cherokee Indians; an objection which offered the only semblance of a valid pretext for their unjustifiable removal. The last objection which I shall offer to this—and it applies to some other back settlements of Negroes in America—is, that in proportion as it succeeds, it must tend to accelerate the extinction of another race, the yet more unfortunate victims of European and American policy—I mean that of the North-American Indians *.

The inconsistency of the enemies of Liberia, when they urge their objection against the removal of Blacks and People of Colour from the United States, is not only exhibited in their patronage of the Wilberforce Settlement, but is also shewn by their encouragement of emigration to Hayti, where they must, for the most part, continue menials, as well as have the difficulties of a different language to contend with; and by their approval of the project for the formation of a large Coloured colony in the Texas. A colony in this last situation, whilst it will serve as a drain, which our opponents look at with horror in the case of Liberia, is liable to all the objections (climate excepted) which I have urged against the Wilberforce Settlement: in addition to which, it will be nearer to, and consequently more under, the influence of the jealousy of the slave-holding States. The inhabitants of these States can hardly be expected to tolerate the passage of companies of Free Blacks proceeding through their territories to the proposed colony: removal by sea would, therefore, become as necessary as in the case of their emigration to Liberia. On their arrival, the colonists would have to compete and contend with the irregular settlers already established in the country, and who, for the most part, belong to that peculiarly odious class, whose character seems to be made up of whatever is most atrocious in the ferocity of the savage and the corruption and profligacy of the civilized — a class which has already signalized itself amongst the chief agents in the extermination of the Indians.

It has often been strongly objected against the Colonization Society, that it admits the right of the slave-owner to hold his fellow-creatures in bondage, and that it promises to assist him in maintaining secure possession of this property. The extracts which I have already given have shewn what the society's opinions are with respect to slavery and manumission; but they will not account for the apparent inconsistency of those

* As these pages may meet the eye of some influential American Citizen, I cannot omit this opportunity of expressing my heartfelt regret, that, in a country in which the adaptation of means to ends is so well understood and put in practice as in the United States—of which the success of its Prisons, and of its Colonization Society, and the fruits of its Temperance Societies, are examples—nothing effectual should be undertaken for that interesting but most-injured Race, once the sole possessors of that vast territory now appropriated by the United States. Although the Supreme Court of Judicature in the States has passed judgment in favour of the Indians, and though the whole Union appears to have concurred in expressions of interest and commiseration, yet this fruitless benevolence is allowed to be dissipated like vapour, whilst the Race which calls for its exertion passes away like wax before the fire.

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opinions with the sentiments expressed in the quotations made by our opponents in support of the present objection.

It must be borne in mind, that it is the avowed, and, as I believe, the wise policy of the Colonization Society, to come as little as possible in collision with any party, and, if possible, to obtain friends and supporters from all: it has, however, been warmly attacked by the advocates of slavery, and held up amongst the slave-holders as the means of their ruin. It is to ward off and repel the attacks of this party, amongst which many of its friends—the uneasy and reluctant possessors of slaves—reside, and from whom it seeks an accession of converts, that the admission and arguments in question have been employed by the society.

With this view, they may be allowed to admit that slavery is sanctioned by law in the United States; that the slave-holder there has a permitted, authorised, and established right to his slave: and seeing that the society has confined its operations to one object, and has left the question of slavery to be agitated and discussed by others, and satisfied itself with the ultimate tendency of its operations, it is fully justified in urging this concession, and obtaining all the advantages which such concession can procure. Concession, it is well known, is often the most powerfu form of rhetoric; it seems, indeed, to be peculiarly suited to influence the American character;—a striking exemplification of which has been recently exhibited to the world, in the manner in which the portentous question of the tariff was adroitly settled by the Hon. H. Clay. It must not be forgotten, with reference to the subject now before us, that the Colonization Society has had by no means a quiet and undisturbed field for its exertions, but that much hot and angry feeling had been excited; that the parties, amongst whom and with whom the society wished to exert itself, are already chased and roused by the attacks which have been made upon them, and were therefore only to be approached with the prospect of successful influence by mild and temperate proceedings. It was essential to the success of the Colonization Society, that its proceedings should form a contrast with those which professed Abolitionists, through benevolent but imprudent zeal, have been led to adopt. It is this which I believe has brought the Colinizationists to the extreme limits of concession, in their addresses to their slave-holding opponents. It is with this explanation that I can not only excuse, but even approve of most of the expressions employed by the Colonizationists, especially when taken with their context, from which they have been separated in the unfair quotations of our enemies. The following quotations will exhibit the position which the society holds between the two extreme parties:—

"It (the society) found itself equally assailed by the two extremes of public sentiment, in regard to our African population. According to one (that rash class which, without a due estimate of the fatal consequence, would forthwith issue a decree of general, immediate, and indiscriminate emancipation), it was a scheme of the slave-holder to perpetuate slavery. The other (that class which believes slavery a blessing, and which trembles with aspen sensibility at the appearance of the most distant and ideal danger to the tenure by which that description of property is held), declared it a contrivance to let loose on society all the slaves in the country, ignorant, uneducated, and incapable of appreciating the value or enjoying the privileges of freedom."—*From Speech of* H. Clay, *10th Report*, 1827, p. 14.

"If discord and contention, among the intelligent and religious, are to be

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deprecated in regard to any cause, they are especially to be deprecated in regard to a cause wherein are involved so many relations, difficulties, interests, and considerations, of a moral, domestic, political, and philanthropic character. If some common ground can be selected, upon which all good men can stand and act together—if, uniting upon it, they feel they are working effectually for the cause of humanity and of God—if they perceive that upon this ground measures may be prosecuted large and full of promise for the African Race—measures capable of indefinite extension, and which are likely to be immensely extended—let all unite on this common ground, whatever they may deem to be their duty in their own individual spheres of action.—On such ground, we are persuaded, stands the American Colonization Society: and around it, we trust, soon to see gather, in strength and harmony, all the wise, patriotic, and religious of our country."—*African Repository, Feb.* 1833, p. 384.

In an article in the American Quarterly Review for September 1832, consisting of 76 pages, expressly written in praise and defence of slavery, the Colonization Society is reprobated in terms only second to those employed by some members of the Anti-slavery Society:—"The scheme of colonizing our Blacks on the coast of Africa, or anywhere else, by the United States, is seen to be more stupendously absurd than even the Virginia project. King Canute the Dane, seated on the sea-shore, and ordering the rising flood to recede from his royal feet, was not guilty of more vanity and presumption than the Government of the United States would manifest in the vain effort of removing and colonizing the annual increase of our Blacks; and we do not see how the whole scheme can be pronounced any thing less than a stupendous piece of folly." In the same article, Jefferson is attacked as an enemy to slavery. The Reviewers appear to have subsequently changed their opinions; for in speaking of the society, in December of the same year, they say: "It may claim the ardent co-operation of persons of both opinions on the subject of abolition, without expecting those of either opinion to violate in the least their own consistency. Popular writers in South Carolina formerly declared that the society would become the nucleus for all the mischievous incendiaries through the United States:—now, it can with ease be demonstrated, that on a subject about which the public mind neither can nor will be indifferent, the only absolutely certain security against intemperance and rashness is to be found in the scheme of that society."—*American Quarterly Review, Dec.* 1832, p. 414.

J. N. Danforth states, on his own personal knowledge, as well as from a Gentleman of high standing in South Carolina, "that the Society, and every thing connected with it, are held in extreme abhorrence by our leading men, our politicians, and wealthy planters: it is so unpopular an institution, that very few name it publicly: it is regarded here as a Northern scheme, to wrest from us our slaves."

Since the society professedly aims at combining the exertions of both parties, we must not be surprised or offended at occasionally meeting with sentiments emanating from the one, by which the other is not committed, and to which it has the means of supplying the antidote. They certainly afford no just ground for the accusation of our adversaries, that the society seeks to deceive, by making one statement to the one party, and another to the other. Different arguments and inducements are required to suit different individuals. There is no deception in this, since both parties are addressed in the same publication. The following are instances of the mode in which the society is made to appear the advocate of slavery. The passage which I am about to quote almost immediately succeeds that given

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at page 7, in which American slavery is confessed to be worse than that of Pagan or Mahomedan countries: — "Here we are ready to make, what all will consider the most liberal concessions. *We are ready even to grant, for our present purpose, that, so far as mere animal existence is concerned, the slaves have no reason to complain, and the friends of humanity have no reason to complain for them.* And when we use the strong language, which we feel ourselves compelled to use, in relation to this subject, we do not mean to speak of animal suffering, but of an immense moral and political evil—of slavery as it stands connected with the wealth and strength, and more especially with the character and happiness, of our nation. But it is enough to say, in regard to the moral influence on the Blacks, that laws exist in nearly all the slave-holding States, prohibiting their instruction, and even driving them from Sunday Schools, because the public safety requires them to be kept in perfect ignorance; and, in regard to its influence on the White population, that the most lamentable proof of its deteriorating effects may be found in the fact, that, excepting the pious, whose hearts are governed by the Christian law of reciprocity betweeen man and man—and the wise, whose minds have looked far into the relations and tendencies of things—none can be found to lift their voices against a system so utterly repugnant to the feelings of unsophisticated humanity—a system which permits all the atrocities of the domestic slave-trade—which permits the father to sell his children as he would his cattle—a system which consigns one half of the community to hopeless and utter degradation, and which threatens, in its final catastrophe, to bring down the same ruin on the master and the slave."—*Appendix to 7th Report*, pp. 88—90.

W. L. Garrison has merely given that portion of the passage which is here printed in italics. It is surely no defence of the corporal suffering, to urge that the moral is incomparably greater: yet this, and the remark, that the author believes the extent of this suffering is misapprehended in the Northern States, has led a Member of the Anti-Slavery Society to maintain Garrison's accusation, and to place the author on a par with the advocates of West-India slavery.

The following passage is ascribed to the Review on African Colonization in the Christian Spectator for September 1830:—"For the existence of slavery in the United States, those, and those only, are accountable who bore a part in originating such a constitution of society. The Bible contains no explicit prohibition of slavery. There is neither chapter nor verse of Holy Writ which lends any countenance to the fulminating spirit of universal emancipation, of which some exhibitions may be seen in some of the Newspapers," p. 63. But it is replied, in another Number of the same Journal: "Now we utterly deny and abjure the authorship of such a paragraph. The fact is, that these three sentences, thus strung together, and with the meaning which they necessarily convey to the reader, whose first sight of them is in this connection, never before appeared in the Christian Spectator. It is true, indeed, that each one of the three sentences, which Mr. Garrison has thus arranged as in a connected train of thought, does actually occur in the article referred to; but they occur in such connections, and are applied, in the course of the argument, to such uses as must very materially modify their meaning in the mind of every candid reader. The word '*existence*' was marked as emphatic; and our object was, as appears from the very next page, while conceding to the advocates of slavery the matter of a favourite plea in its defence, to throw upon the consciences of the present generation of citizens in the slave-holding States the responsibility of reforming this constitution of

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society, or of *continuing* it, and transmitting it, with all its curses, to posterity. We did indeed say, in another paragraph, 'The Bible contains no explicit prohibition of slavery;' but we need not say that the stress of the sentence obviously rested on the word *explicit*. We added a still greater concession to the advocate of slavery, and one that we marvel that Mr. Garrison has not wrested to some of his purposes:—'It (the Bible) recognises, both in the Old Testament and the New, the existence of such a constitution of society; and it lends its authority to enforce the mutual obligations resulting from that constitution.' But what else said we of the relations of Christianity to slavery? How far did we permit our concessions to be carried? Did we 'go the whole' in defence of slavery, as, in our author's manner of quotation, we seem to have done? 'The advocates of slavery,' we said, 'take it for granted, that because Christianity recognises such a state of society, and enforces the mutual duties arising therefrom, it sanctions slavery itself: this is a great and palpable error. The New Testament contains no *express* prohibition of polygamy. Is polygamy therefore consistent with Christianity? Christianity is always the antagonist principle of slavery.' Is Mr. Garrison's quotation an impartial exhibition of our doctrine?" Those who denounce the Colonization Society on account of the concessions which it has made to the feelings and prejudices of slaveholders should recollect that our own most ardent and devoted advocates for the cause of the Blacks adopted precisely the same policy. Neither Wilberforce nor Clarkson complicated their strenuous and ultimately-triumphant efforts for the abolition of the slave-trade with the question of the abolition of slavery; and even those who have recently been the most powerful advocates of immediate and universal emancipation once admitted the expediency of a more gradual course. I wish they would call to mind their own past experience; and encourage their brethren, the philanthropists of America, in the good which they are already doing, rather than attempt to crush them; because, for the present, they are opposed by difficulties which prevent their effecting more.

It is worthy of remark, that, with all the concessions which the Colonization Society has made in favour of the present legal prerogatives of slaveholders, the only right of the master, for which they contend, is that of liberty to emancipate his slaves. It is stated in the Fourteenth Report, 1831, p. 25: "The accomplishment of our object *will secure to every proprietor of slaves an opportunity*, if he thinks proper, to exercise the right of disposing of his property as he pleases; a right for which we all strenuously contend, *but which none of us possess.*" G. G Gurley, in his admirable Essay, published in the Appendix of the same Report, p. 28, observes: "*It is the success of the society*, it is the fulfilment of the hopes and predictions of its founders, that has awakened the desperate and malignant spirit which now comes forth to arrest its progress. *Voluntary* emancipation begins to follow in the train of colonization; and the advocates of perpetual slavery are indignant at witnessing, in effectual operation, a scheme which permits better men than themselves to exercise, without restraint, the purest and the noblest feelings of our nature. These strenuous assertors of the right to judge for themselves, in regard to their domestic policy, are alarmed at a state of things which secures the *same right* to every individual of their community. Do they apprehend that the system which they would perpetuate cannot continue unimpaired, *unless the privilege of emancipating his slaves, for the purpose of colonization, shall be denied to the master?* Do they feel, that, in this country and this age, the

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influences of truth and freedom are becoming too active and powerful? and that all their forces must be summoned to the contest with these foes to their purposes and their doctrines? If so, their defeat is inevitable."

Our opponents endeavour to represent the Colonization Society as hostile to the People of Colour, whom it has unjustly stigmatized and libelled. I believe that the Colonization Society, in its description of this class, has stated what it conceived to be strictly true. It was necessary that it should point out their deplorable and almost hopeless condition, when it appealed to benevolence for their relief: it was necessary that it should exhibit the reflected evils which recoil from this class upon those around them, when it wished to arouse the apathetic and selfish. In the society's description of the general state of the Free People of Colour—to which, however, it admits with pleasure the existence of some bright exceptions—I see nothing but the natural consequences of the iniquitous system of slavery. In fact, a different state of things would have been a refutation of much that has been ably and excellently advanced by the Abolitionists themselves. The report of the degraded and demoralized condition of the majority of the Free People of Colour has been confirmed to me by every traveller who has visited America, with whom I have had the opportunity of conversing on the subject. The following quotations are in accordance with the statements of the Colonizationists.

"A Letter from a Gentleman in the interior of Pennsylvania informs us, that he met about sixty of these poor wanderers in the public road, going they knew not where, in search of a home; and with very little probability of finding employment, at a time like the present, and in a country already overrun with foreigners, who are soliciting labour at the most reduced prices."—3d *Report*, 1820, p. 100.

The following character of Free Blacks is given by Henry Dunn, the Secretary to the British and Foreign Society, quoted in the American Quarterly Review:—

"Nor is the Freed African one degree raised in the scale. Under fewer restraints, his vices display themselves more disgustingly: insolent and proud, indolent and a liar, he imitates only the vices of his superiors, and to the catalogue of his former crimes adds drunkenness and theft.

"There is one disadvantage attendant upon Free Blacks in slave-holding States, which is not felt in the non-slave holding. In the former, they corrupt the slaves; encourage them to steal from their masters, by purchasing from them; and they are, too, a sort of moral conductor, by which the slaves can better organize and concert plans of mischief among themselves."—*From the American Quarterly Review.*

"The Blacks have now all the habits and feelings of slaves: the Whites have those of masters. The prejudices are formed; and mere legislation cannot remove them The law would make them free men; and custom or prejudice (we care not which you call it) would degrade them to the condition of slaves."—*From the same.*

"We have alluded to the charge of vilifying the Free Blacks, brought against the society, as being wholly without foundation. The society was originally, and still is, a charitable institution, created and conducted with a remote view to other benefits indeed, but primarily for the welfare of the Free Blacks; and the solicitations of some of that number in New England were, in fact, the earliest inducement to the agitation of the subject among benevolent men. True, the society regards this part of our community as peculiarly unfortunate in their relation to the Whites, and in their attempts

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at improvement; and hence it was that the idea of Colonization was encouraged. This society has done all in its power to promote a spirit of kindly regard towards this class, and to awaken a spirit of enterprise in their bosoms; but they have devoted labour and treasure still more diligently to the prosecution of their experiment in Africa—*an experiment on the moral, mental, and social capacity of the Blacks.*

"The society have, indeed, not scrupled to describe the situation of that class in this country in its true light. This was necessary, even to the purpose of awakening themselves as well as the rest of the community, to the work of improvement. The task has been an unpleasant one, truly, to more parties than one; but so much the more honour belongs to those who have laboured in it without reward, almost without hope, and even, in some instances, exposed to the suspicions of the very subjects of their disinterested exertions. The society, we verily believe, even thus far, have done more to stimulate and encourage the Free Blacks of this country than all other agents together, for the half century last past."—*From the Christian Examiner, Jan.* 1833, pp. 305, 6.

"*What such colonies are to do for the Free Blacks*, is not difficult to understand. *Here*, the Black Man is degraded. You may call him free; you may protect his rights by legislation; you may invoke the spirit of humanity and Christian benevolence to bless him; but still he is degraded; a thousand malignant influences around are conspiring to wither all that is manly and noble in his nature. But *in Africa* he becomes a member of a community, in which he is not only free, but equal: there he stands up, to be a man."—*From the Christian Examiner for Jan.* 1833, p. 293.

"Their condition," that of the Free People of Colour, "especially in each of the above-named States," viz. those in which slavery exists, "is, from their oppression, truly wretched and pitiable. Though subject to taxation in common with all others, they are, notwithstanding, universally disfranchised; and having no incentives to rouse their energies and cultivate their intellect, they are obliged to submit to the mortification of being considered inferior to their oppressors. While they feel deeply sensible of their inferiority, when contrasted with the more enlightened and accomplished White citizens, they are deprived by law of the advantages of education—interdicted from attending as spectators the halls of legislation and courts of justice—from filling posts of honour—are prohibited the use of the press, freedom of speech, and from the power of locomotion—debarred from a participation in the agricultural, mechanical, and commercial pursuits and advantages in common with the Whites—precluded from ecclesiastical privileges, excepting only in a certain restricted sense, being forbidden by law to convoke assemblies of their own colour, unless the worship is conducted by a *White* Minister. And, of late, unconstitutional and cruel laws have been enacted, to compel them to leave those States in which they were born: while in *no other of the United States* can these unfortunate and oppressed persons find an asylum, without being subject to unpleasant and often to cruel restrictions!

"Even in those parts which are denominated *Free States*, the Coloured *Free* people are by no means exempt from the effects of the most unjustifiable prejudices; for, whether at home or abroad, in public places of amusement or in the sanctuary of the Lord, they are alike the subjects of scorn and contempt! As an illustration of their degraded condition, even in such cities as Chiladelphia, New York, and Boston, it is only necessary to state, that *a white barber would think himself grossly insulted were a*

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Coloured person, however respectable in society, to enter his shop for the purpose of getting shaved!"

This last quotation deserves particular attention. It is from the pen of Nathaniel Paul, himself a Man of Colour. From this quotation, as well as from other sources, we may learn the indisputable, but important and lamentable fact, that the degraded and oppressed condition of the Free People of Colour is by no means confined to the slave-holding States. I would particularly press this fact on the consideration of those who oppose the views of the Colonization Society, whilst they defend the measures of the Anti-Slavery Society. The objects of this latter society, though good, will not necessarily greatly elevate the Coloured population; and its measures have incomparably less tendency to produce that effect than those of the Colonization Society.

The following sentences have particularly excited the displeasure of our opponents. I shall quote them, in order to reply to some of the objections which they have excited.

"It is taken for granted, that, *in present circumstances, any effort to produce a general and thorough amelioration in the character and condition of the Free People of Colour must be, to a great extent, fruitless.* In every part of the United States there is a broad and impassable line of demarcation between every man who has one drop of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, nor religion itself can subdue—mark the People of Colour, whether bond or free, as the subjects of degradation, inevitable and incurable. The African in this country belongs, by birth, to the very lowest station in society; and from that station he can never rise, be his talents, his enterprise, his virtues, what they may. They constitute a class by themselves—a class out of which no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed. And this is the difficulty, the invariable and insuperable difficulty, in the way of every scheme for their benefit. Much can be done for them—much has been done; but still they are, and in this country always must be, a depressed and abject race."—*Address from the Connecticut Colonization Society*, 1828.

The following comment on the extract is from the "Christian Spectator:"—"We have taken away Mr. Garrison's italics and capitals, and have restored the emphasis with which the words were originally printed. Will the reader believe that this, as it stands in the pamphlet before us, is one of the author's strongest testimonies to prove that the American Colonization Society prevents the instruction of Blacks, and denies the possibility of elevating them in this country. The position which the writer of the Address undertakes to illustrate, in the paragraph from which these sentences are culled, is, that, 'IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, any effort to produce a *general* and *thorough* amelioration in the character and condition of the People of Colour must be, *to a great extent*, fruitless.' The whole paragraph describes their condition as affected by 'present circumstances.' And one point, one distinct head of argument, which the Address urges on the public, is the common, and, with many friends of the society, favourite topic, that the 'success and progress of the work of colonization will change those 'present circumstances;' that it 'will not only bless the colonists, but will re-act, to ELEVATE THE STANDING OF THOSE WHO REMAIN BEHIND;' and that from beyond the Atlantic there will come a light, to beam upon the degradation of the Negro in America.' We leave it to every man's sense of truth and fair-

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ness, whether here is not, on the part of Mr. Garrison, something of the nature of misconstruction."

The speech of —— Archer, a member of Congress for Virginia, has often been referred to by our opponents, as containing sentiments of an objectionable character, with which the society itself is chargeable. It should however be remarked, that the speaker announced himself as being, on that occasion, for the first time, associated with the society; and that he had previously kept aloof from it, regarding its philanthrophy as the exaltation of enthusiasm. We certainly ought not, therefore, to consider a speech made under such circumstances as an exposition of the society's views, although we may reasonably regard the speaker's cordial co-operation as one of the triumphs which the society has effected over the hostilities of the slaveholders. The following is the passage, a part of which has excited so much displeasure:—"If none were drained away, slaves became, except under peculiar circumstances of climate and production, inevitably and speedily redundant; first, to the occasions of profitable employment, and, as a consequence, to the faculty of comfortable provision for them. No matter what the humanity of the owners; fixed restriction on their resources must transfer itself to the comfort, and then to the subsistence, of the slave. At this last stage, the evil in this form had to stop. To this stage (from the disproportioned rate of multiplication of the slaves—double that of the owners, in this country) it was obliged, though at different periods, in different circumstances, to come. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as, among the Spartans, with the Helots? or general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America? or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided? and, if they could, how? There was but one way;—but that might be made effectual, fortunately!—it was, to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment.* This might be done effectually, by extension of the plan of the Society. The drain was already opened."—*15th Report*, 1832, p. 26.

The passage, after all, does not contain any thing so very atrocious. The principle which it expresses is by no means essentially connected with slavery, but might be applied to the laborious classes in every state of society, whether bond or free. It is the principle upon which the most disinterested philanthropists advocate the emigration of the redundant pauper population of this country to territories where their prospects may brighten and their energies find scope. The entire speech forms an interesting document amongst the records of the Society; since it makes us acquainted with the sincere and dispassionate sentiments of a body of men whose number and influence make their opinions, whether correct or erroneous, the subject of important consideration, in conjunction with any measure affecting the state of society in which they are placed. With this view, I shall take the liberty of making some few extracts from the speech in question.

"It (the society) sought the removal to a better state, from misery, from vice, from a condition of extensive mischievousness, of a race, which ceased to be property, and had broken the bonds of prejudice, though not of sympathy. Of the virulence of the evil, which would be healed by the effectuation of this object, you, Mr. Chairman, and I, know that none but a person living in contact with it can adequately judge. Gentlemen elsewhere may think they can understand and appreciate its character: they are mistaken:

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the true knowledge can only come from the suffering of it. The race in question were known, as a class, to be destitute, depraved, the victims of forms of social misery."." How was it that this melancholy destiny was traced to them? The answer was but too readily and certainly at hand! They were cut off, as a class, from the exercise of industry. It was a wise, perhaps it was the very wisest of the ordinations of Providence, that the practice of industry was as necessary a condition of morals and happiness as of subsistence. Individual exceptions might rarely be found; but classes of human beings could no more remain undepraved, and other therefore than miserable, without regular occupation, than they permanently could find food without it. But where were the Free Blacks to find occupation in the slave-holding States, in which they abounded the most? In the other States, they might be absorbed, to some extent, in domestic or mechanical service. This could take place to no extent, that deserved to be named, in the slave-holding States. There, all the avenues of occupation were filled. Even were there space, a necessary and obvious policy restrained the intermixture of the several casts in occupation. The Free Blacks were therefore destined, by an insurmountable barrier, a *fixed pale* of social law, to the want of occupation; thence to the want of food; thence to the distresses which ensue that want; thence to the settled depravation which grows out of these distresses, and is nursed at their bosoms;—and this condition *was not casualty, but fate.* The evidence was not speculation in political economy; it was geometrical demonstration What is the Free Black to the slave? A standing perpetual incitement to discontent. Though the condition of the slave be a thousand times the best—*supplied,* protected, instead of destitute and desolate —yet the folly of the condition, held to involuntary labour, finds always allurement in the spectacle of exemption from it, without consideration of the adjuncts of destitution and misery. The slave would have, then, little incitement to discontent, but for the Free Black. He would have as little to habits of depradation, his next tendency, but from the same source of deterioration. In this period, not only the familiarity of the truth, that labour can only be productive when well provided, but an enlightened public opinion which few will encounter, fewer can resist—with '*wipes and scorns,*' far more effective than the whips falsely imagined to be always impending over the slave—compels to a humane and comfortable treatment of him. When the slave steals, therefore, it is from sympathy, to supply the destitution of the Free Black, or for traffic with him. When the master has to employ severity, it is to repress the inertness, or to guard against the depredation or the discontent which the intercourse and spectacle of the Free Black has been the principal agent to awaken. In getting rid, then, of the Free Blacks the slave will be saved from the chief occasions for suffering, and the owner of inflicting severity. Such are the benefits to these two classes, which the society contemplates to place by the side of that more inestimable one which it proposes to the Free Blacks. The Free Blacks it would save from want, vice, misery; the slave from crime and suffering; the master of the slave from all occasion for resort to harsh treatment of him."—15*th Report,* 1832, pp. 24—25.

The same speaker styled the complete removal of slavery as a consummation devoutly to be wished; although he considered it as an event which could only take place at a very remote period.

" Is it not wise, then, for the Free People of Colour and their friends to admit, *what cannot reasonably be doubted,* that the People of Colour must, *in this country, remain for ages, probably for ever, a separate and*

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inferior caste, weighed down by causes powerful, universal, inevitable, which neither legislation nor *Christianity* can remove."—*African Repository*, vol. VII. p. 196.

"The Managers consider it clear, that causes exist, and are operating, to prevent their improvement and elevation, to any considerable extent, as a class in this country; which are fixed not only beyond the controul of the friends of humanity, *but of any human power*. Christianity will not do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the Coloured man, *nor of the White man*, nor of Christianity; but an ordination of Providence: and no more to be changed than the laws of Nature." —15*th Report*, 1832, p.17.

The two preceding quotations are strongly reprobated, not only on account of the description which they give of the position in which the Blacks are placed, but as containing what is represented as infidelity, or a blasphemous impiety, in stating that Religion and Christianity will not raise them out of their present situation. It cannot be supposed that the author of such an assertion intended to advance the opinion that the People of Colour are cut off from the highest enjoyment of, and fullest participation in, the hopes, consolations, and promises of the Gospel. It is a lamentable fact, which, however contradicted by our opponents, is confirmed by impartial testimony, that exalted piety is no protection against the deep-rooted prejudice which has strongly possessed itself of the minds of the Americans generally; not even excepting those who are conspicuous as the advocates of religion, and who are, perhaps, justly esteemed as adorning the doctrine which they profess. Is it not notorious, that the People of Colour either perform their religious devotions in entirely separate companies; or, if they meet in the same buildings with Whites, are obliged to keep themselves to a distinct and peculiar situation in them? With the exception of some, who have visited America from Liberia, I have not been able to hear of more than one or two instances of Coloured persons, whatever may have been their virtue and piety, being admitted into the private society of their White brethren, on terms which evinced that even in their individual character they were exempt from the degrading prejudice under which the mass of their Coloured countrymen are oppressed. For my own part, whilst I execrate this prejudice, I feel that there is as much cause to pity as to blame many of those whose conduct is influenced by it: and I may add, that I firmly believe that the Colonization Society, though it may appear in the first instance to yield to the prejudice which it cannot immediately destroy, is really preparing the death-blow for it, when it completely removes those who have been its victims from the sphere of its influence, to prepare them to re-appear in the field under new auspices.

If Christianity does not directly liberate the Coloured man in America from the degradation which oppresses him, can it be surprising that property and personal accomplishments also fail? An accomplished and distinguished American physician, from an enlightened and liberal State, informed me that he had several Coloured families amongst the respectable and profitable class of his patients. He had no feeling of unkindness towards them, or complaint to make against them; yet he told me, that in society they were completely excluded from the rest of the community. The following circumstance will shew how little personal accomplishments can effect in disarming the prejudice:—An English traveller, on board an American steamboat, happened to meet with a Female of Colour, whose appearance and manners entitled her to the appellation of a lady, and whose education had

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qualified her to hold a situation as family governess. She was the only Coloured passenger; and therefore, when the hour of repast assembled the other passengers, at which Senators and Members of Congress might have sat down at one common board with sordid traffickers and mean mechanics, this lady, with what would be considered in this country an unmanly want of gallantry, was excluded. There was evidently no peculiar slight intended to be passed upon her: the occurrence, though it arrested the attention of our countryman, was regarded as a matter of course by both the parties concerned. In the Southern States, I believe there are Coloured individuals whose education is on a par with that of their White neighbours, whom the inveterate force of prejudice excludes from social intercourse.

Those who seek to criminate the Colonization Society for the course which it adopts, should not only reflect that an opposite course would tend to limit the success of its endeavours for the attainment of its professed object, but that it is encouraged by no bright prospects of extensive success obtained by the labours of the Abolitionists.

If the principal object of the Colonization Society, as its opponents insinuate, were an interested and selfish desire, on the part of the slave-owners, to drain off a redundant Black population that they might increase the value and more easily hold in subjection those that remain, we should expect to find a mutual combination amongst them to effect this purpose by some general sacrifice, rather than a few individuals generously devoting their entire property in slaves for the sake of those who are really their rivals. The number of slave-owners who, notwithstanding the high price which they might obtain for their slaves, have come forward in this manner and manumitted them, or published their determination to do so as soon as the society's means will allow them to effect their colonization, proves both that the desire to emancipate is by no means wanting amongst the calumniated citizens of the South, and that the difficulties in the way of manumission, which their adversaries seem unwilling to admit, had really been to them insuperable.

In some instances, the plea of selfishness has been more completely refuted, and the benevolent anxiety on the part of the masters to benefit their slaves exhibited by the pains which they have taken to prepare them for emigration, and even by their wholly or partially paying their expenses to the colony. A striking instance of this has been given by the benevolent Margaret Mercer; who has not only given up her patrimony in slaves, prepared them for colonization, and sent them to Liberia, but devotes her life to the arduous profession of schoolmistress, and her mansion to the purpose of a school, in order to increase her means of benefitting the Afro-American People of Colour. Elizabeth Greenfield, Col. Early, and the Breckonridges, also deserve honourable mention, for similar conduct.

Dr. Aylett Hawes, of Virginia, has bequeathed freedom to about 100 slaves, and 20 dollars for each, to assist the Colonization Society in conveying them to Liberia.

The society is studiously represented as adverse to the education of the Coloured population, and several quotations are given for the purpose of supporting this charge. On examination, these quotations appear to be evidently perverted; the author's object being concealed, whilst sentiments which he never intend ed to convey are attributed to him and to the society to which he is attached. I believe it to be a fact, which is generally admitted, not less by the advocates of freedom than by the supporters of arbitrary power, that where one class of men is kept in the unnatural condition of

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bondage and subjection to another, the latter find the difficulties of exercising their authority over the former to be in proportion to the knowledge which they may possess. Knowledge opens their eyes to the position in which they are placed, and at the same time gives them a power which they cannot fail to employ in attempts to extricate themselves from it. This is so notorious, that almost all Governments, in proportion as they approach to the character of despotic, are alarmed at the diffusion of knowledge, and use their endeavours to check it. This constitutes one of the chief, amongst the many evils of absolute rule, whether in the hands of one or of several individuals. The slave states of America are instances of the latter. The Colonizationists, whose quotations have been given, have stated this policy, and its application amongst themselves, not as one which is laudable, but to point out one of the many disadvantages under which the Coloured people labour in America as an argument for their removal from it, if any thing hopeful is to be attempted for their moral and intellectual elevation. The following passage from a speech of E. B. Caldwell will serve for an example:—

"The more you improve the condition of the people—the more you cultivate their minds—the more miserable you make them, in their present state: you give them a higher relish for those privileges which they cannot attain, and turn what you intend for a blessing into a curse. No; if they remain in their present situation, keep them in the lowest state of ignorance and degradation. The nearer you bring them to the condition of brutes, the better chance do you give them of possessing their apathy. Surely Americans ought to be the last people on earth to advocate such slavish doctrines; to cry 'peace and contentment' to those who are deprived of the privileges of civil liberty! They who have so largely partaken of its blessings, who know so well how to estimate its value, ought to be among the foremost to extend it to others."

The latter part of this paragraph has been most unfairly suppressed, and the former adduced, by W. L. Garrison, in order to convict that benevolent individual of a "monstrous sentiment," and to prove that "the American Colonization Society advocates, and to a great extent perpetuates, the ignorance and degradation of the Coloured population of the United States."

The following advertisement, extracted from the African Repository, will shew that Colonizationists are not the enemies to the education of People of Colour which they have been represented to be:—

"'To Young Men of Colour—The subscriber, resolved, if the Lord will, on making a special effort for the improvement of the Coloured race of men, hereby invites the *Young Men of Colour* resident within the limits of New England and the State of New York, between fifteen and thirty years of age, who are honest and industrious, who possess healthy and vigorous constitutions, who are desirous of obtaining an education, and are willing to devote from four to six years to this object, either at a public school or with a private instructor, and to labour four hours in each day for their support, to report themselves to him at Montpelier, Vermont, by letter (post paid), previous to the first of June next.

"'The letter of each person should contain a certificate of his possessing the qualifications above named, signed by a Magistrate, or Minister of the Gospel. As this notice may not otherwise meet the eye of numbers to whom it is addressed, such persons as are willing to aid in improving the intellectual and moral condition of Coloured men, and whose local situation gives them opportunity, are requested to search out and inform Young Men of Colour of this proposal, and to aid them, if necessary, in forwarding their communications.

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" ' Should any considerable number report themselves, as above invited, they, and the public, may expect a further communication on the subject.

" ' *Montpelier, Vermont, March* 26, 1833. ' CHESTER WRIGHT.'

" The Rev. Mr. Wright is Secretary of Vermont Colonization Society, and one of the best and most influential Ministers of Christ in the land. We hope he may prepare young men of Colour to become Teachers and Preachers of the Gospel in Africa." — *African Repository, May* 1833, pp. 92—93.

" Their religious advancement, viz. that of the Blacks, too, should be immediately sought, that they may be better fitted for whatever condition awaits them. Increase the prevalence of religious principle in master and slave, and, when Christian truth holds its sway, the result will be proportionably happy and safe: the one will be enabled to soften, and the other to tolerate, the necessary evils of delay: and when freedom shall come, which it requires no prophet's eye to discern, in years before us, then will the one be better prepared to grant, and the other enjoy, the boon."—*From the North-American Review, for June* 1833, p. 461.

I cannot quit this subject without offering a remark which seems to be connected with it. In fully admitting that " knowledge is power," and that it is one of the great evils and fruits of the injustice of absolute authorities to withhold it from their subjects, it is necessary that those who are desirous to correct this state of things, and promote the diffusion of knowledge, should be circumspect and cautious as to their mode of introducing it; otherwise there is a danger of exhibiting to them all the evils of their position before they have the power to extricate themselves; lest, startled and agitated by the discovery, they make struggles injurious to themselves and those around them: as when the blinkers are taken from a horse in harness, the sudden discovery of the apparatus attached to him makes him take fright, and hurry vehicle, passengers, and himself to destruction. Into this error, the Abolitionists of America, and more especially the Editor of the " Liberator," have, I believe, in some degree, fallen, and thereby contributed to promote the passing of oppressive laws.

It is not the end, but the means, of which I am doubtful. The energetic language of the Liberator has not, that I am aware, induced a single slave-holder to remove or relax his shackles: it has excited displeasure; and, instead of obtaining an attentive perusal, has raised against its author an opposition which has induced me to feel for him as a persecuted individual. The fault, however, is, in part, his own. He fails in persuading the master; and is suspected of agitating the Blacks, who form, as he has told us, at least two-thirds of his subscribers.

Great importance appears to be attached to the protests and remonstrances published by several congregations of Free Blacks in America, in opposition to the Colonization Society: but it should be remembered, that these indididuals are at perfect liberty to remain where they are; that so far from having any personal acquaintance with the Settlement of Liberia, to give value to their opinion, they merely re-echo the sentiments of the Editor of the Liberator, of whose journal they are the chief support: and, above all, it must be borne in mind, that their sentiments are directly opposed to those of the People of Colour who have visited the colony, or taken pains to make themselves authentically acquainted with it. " Some of the authors of this objection have first *persuaded* them *not to emigrate*, and then pronounced that they *will* not. Their prediction and their argument have both failed."—3*d Report*, 1820, p. 23.

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The very favourable report of Simpson and Moore, deliberately offered to their brethren, on their return from Liberia, is so complete and important a negative to the assertions of W. Lloyd Garrison, that he has endeavoured to set it aside, as not being genuine—and, with this view, asserted the accredited authors to be ignorant individuals, unable to read and write, and consequently incompetent to have produced the report in question. This statement was made to several of my friends, by W. Lloyd Garrison himself, during his short stay in this country. By a very remarkable contingency, Anson G. Phelps, the highly respectable citizen of New York who received Simpson and Moore immediately on their landing from Liberia, happens to have been in this country since this assertion was made; and being accidentally in company with one of the gentlemen to whom it was addressed, that gentleman, who also by accident became acquainted with the fact of his having so received Simpson and Moore, took the opportunity of making inquiries respecting them; and received in return, not only the assurance that they were, as the circumstance of their selection by their brethren seemed to imply, persons of good understanding and competent education, but that he had seen the journal they had kept, from the time of their leaving Natchez up to the period of their arrival at New York.

I do not accuse the author of the Liberator of having fabricated the mis-statement which he has made: he may only have repeated statements made to himself. Be this as it may, the circumstance is a proof of the determined hostility of the party opposing Liberia, to which he is attached, and of the more than doubtful character of their assertions. The National Intelligencer, of the 17th August 1833, published at Washington, contains a circumstantial refutation of a fraudulent mis-statement, published by the same party for the purpose of destroying the favourable impression which the satisfactory and encouraging accounts from Liberia could not fail to make. The mis-statements which appeared in the Emancipator represent James Price and Joseph Whittington, two persons of Colour, who had visited Liberia, to have made declarations at a public meeting, giving a very unfavourable idea of the colony, and to have contradicted the reports which had been previously received. James Brown, of Washington, a person of Colour interested in Liberia, and contemplating to emigrate thither, was so much annoyed at the article in the Emancipator, which he conceived to be a forgery, that he actually undertook a journey of four days, in order to see and converse with James Price. The result of this interview was the discovery that the statement in the Emancipator was absolutely false, and a further confirmation of the prosperity, good order, and comfort which prevail in the colony. This corrected statement was accompanied by copies of several letters from settlers in Liberia to their friends and relatives in America, whom they invite to follow them.

The enemies of the Colonization Society have endeavoured to represent its friends as guilty of subterfuge and inconsistency, in professing a design to civilize and Christianize Africa, by means of a class whose degraded and demoralized condition it has prominently exhibited. This is a charge which appears to be substantiated by the contrasted extracts which they have given; but it is by no means the conclusion to be obtained from a fair and connected perusal of the society's publications.

From these it is evident, that they have, in general, taken great pains in the selection of their colonists; as a proof of which, they have had no occasion for Whites in any official capacity, except that of Governor and

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Physician. Although they consider the degraded condition of the Coloured population as the result of their unfortunate position in society, rather than an inherent characteristic of their Race; and that consequently, under favourable circumstances, they may both improve themselves, and be the means of improving others; especial attention has been paid to avoid sending out such a proportion of an inferior class as to compromise the well-being and character of the colony. But it has been said, we have Governor Mechlin's own letter, in proof of the bad character of the emigrants whom you style Missionaries. It appears to me, that the legitimate inference to be drawn from that letter is, that the complaint made against a particular cargo of emigrants implies the general good character of those who preceded them; and the publication of that letter by the society is both an evidence of its candour and frankness, and a proof of its desire to avoid the occasion of such an objection in future: it must be the means of obtaining increased attention to the selection and preparation of future emigrants, by which the society cannot fail to benefit the Blacks who stay, as well as those who go. Already some of the legal impediments to the education of Negroes have been revoked, in favour of such as are destined for the coast of Africa; but it is obvious, that, of the many so educated, not a few may miss emigration, and remain in America. Again, those who are receiving instruction, as a qualification for colonization, will, in the mean time, be likely to improve those who may not be so fortunate, but with whom they may happen to have intercourse: nor need the jealousy of the enemies to Negro education be excited by this indirect effect, since the knowledge so communicated will be accompanied by a kindly rather than by a hostile feeling towards the Whites.

I am surprised that the opponents of the Colonization Society should have taken offence at the designation of Africa as the native country of the Negro, and affected to misunderstand its meaning. It is evident, that it merely implies that Africa is the cradle of the Black Race, and strictly of that particular Black Race which has been the victim of slavery in the Western World; for the Colonizationists know, as well as their opponents, that there are Black Races in Australia and elsewhere: but when they contemplate removing the sons of Africa from a land to which, without their consent, they or their ancestors were conveyed, and in which they have had many privations, hardships, and indignities to endure, it is not surprising that Africa should present itself to their view as the most promising, and be spoken of as the mother or native country of the Blacks.

Some of the People of Colour who emigrated from America to Africa before the formation of the society used the following language, in their address to their brethren whom they had left:—"Look back, and see if ever such a thing was done as you now see! Be ye thankful to them in America; and be not fearful to come to Africa, which is your country by right. If any of you think it proper not to come, and say it is well with you, you must remember your brethren who are yet in slavery. They must be set free, as yourselves. How shall they be made free, if not by your good behaviour, and by coming to get a place ready to receive them? Though you are free, that is not your country. Africa, not America, is your country and your home. Africa is a good country."—3*d Report*, 1820, p. 121.

With respect to the mixed race, the case is certainly different; and as respects the influence of climate, it involves a very serious question, if not a practical difficulty: for although the politician may contend that they are to be ranked as Africans, as being grouped, by the common prejudice of the

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Americans, in the same injured class, yet it does not follow that the physiologist, who has to consider the laws of nature rather than the caprices of man, should follow the same course. It may happen, that the Mulatto may inherit so much of the constitution of the father whose profligacy he attests, as, like him, to be unable to endure the heat of the torrid zone and the pestilential breezes of Africa. This is a question which experience alone can decide. Although it will probably be found that the climate of Africa will prove salubrious to the emigrants of America in proportion to the degree in which they are African by descent, it nevertheless appears, that a moderate mixture of the African Race imparts a manifest capability of enduring that climate, and thus qualifies the unfortunate Mulatto to avail himself of the shelter provided him from his unnatural parent.

The climate of Liberia has been represented as dreadfully fatal to the settlers who have emigrated from America. This erroneous accusation is founded on the result of some of the first arrivals of settlers, who had necessarily to contend with the privations and difficulties which appear invariably to meet those who make the first attempts at forming a settlement in a new country: in addition to which, the local peculiarities, and the circumstances to be guarded against, were unknown and unprovided for. All these difficulties, however, have been surmounted more effectually, and in a shorter time, and with less loss of life, than was the case with some of the States of the North-American Union which certainly may be regarded as having been successful colonies. According to the official statements respecting the health of the colonists at Liberia, it does not appear that the mortality, notwithstanding the influx of new settlers—who would have a kind of seasoning to undergo, whatever might have been the situation to which they had removed—has much, if at all, exceeded the mortality in the United States. This fact has been urged, with the data upon which it is founded; yet our opponents prefer clinging to the happily obsolete condition of the first settlers on their arrival, as better calculated to support their views. The desire to depreciate the exertions of the Colonization Society in Africa, as well as in the United States, has led them to make other misrepresentations; and has betrayed them into inconsistencies and contradictions, in which not only the assertions of one individual are at variance with those of another, but the same individual has completely contradicted himself. It is stated, that the colony was founded by conquest, and through the destruction of the Natives; yet it must be notorious to all who have paid any attention to the history of the colony, that the territory was purchased before the arrival of a single settler; that the policy of Liberia has been decidedly pacific, not only theoretically, but practically, by which it has gained the confidence and esteem of the neighbouring tribes to a great extent. It has not, it is true, absolutely avowed the adoption of the principles of Quakers and Moravians, as respects the Anti-Christian nature even of defensive war; yet its policy is at least as peacable, notwithstanding its peculiar and exposed situation, as that of any existing State in which a pretension is made to the name of Christian. The lamentable affair which is referred to, as having cost the lives of so many of the Natives in the infancy of the colony, was occasioned by an undoubted act of aggression on the part of a very large body of armed Natives, bent on the destruction of the settlers, and the possession of the territory which had already been purchased and formally ceded. The settlers, not exceeding thirty in number, and shut up in their little fort, without the means of escape, were placed in one of those

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extreme cases, in which none but those who have absolutely renounced defensive war, and the propriety of repelling the midnight assassin, would have remained inactive. Their escape was truly marvellous. It does not appear that the colony, when its strength was re-inforced, was led away by the idea of any measures of retaliation. Whenever differences with the Natives have arisen, the colonists have studiously endeavoured to settle them amicably by conference, which has generally succeeded. They have, it is true, had some contests with slave-dealers; but these must be regarded as acts of police, rather than of war.

Sometimes we find the opponents to the Colonization Society admitting that the settlement of Liberia is advantageous to Africa. Even William Lloyd Garrison, and Captain Stuart, and the members of the Anti-Slavery Society, who have subscribed their protest against the society, have made this admission. Yet, in spite of accumulated evidence that the colony has suppressed an active slave-trade along a considerable portion of coast, that it has substituted a thriving and legitimate commerce, and so far conciliated the neighbouring Natives as to induce them to desire civilization and Christianity, William Lloyd Garrison has publicly described the benefits of Liberia as being as fabulous as the tales of Munchausen. Captain Stuart contends that it must support and promote the slave-trade, notwithstanding the strong facts in proof of the contrary; and, although he had stated it to be an unspeakable blessing, he denounces the settlement as positively injurious, rather than beneficial, because rum is imported into it; and this, notwithstanding the exemplary sobriety which various tesimonies concur in representing as prevailing there, and in spite of the solicitude which the society has felt, and published, with reference to the introduction of spirits. In one of its Reports, it says: "Serious apprehensions have been expressed, during the year, by many friends of the Society, that great evils would arise, both to the settlers and the Native Africans, from the introduction of ardent spirits as an article of use and of trade at the colony. The Managers have felt these apprehensions to be well founded; and, though—owing to the fact that the Natives frequently refuse to trade when this article is denied them, and to the fact that they can always obtain it elsewhere, provided they cannot at the colony—the subject is attended with difficulties, they have sought to do all in their power to meet the views, and accomplish the wishes, of the friends of temperance. They have earnestly recommended to the colonists the formation of Temperance Societies, on the principle of entire abstinence, and wholly to discontinue the use of ardent spirits in trade with the Natives; and have also instructed the Colonial Agent to aid and encourage them in all measures which may tend to secure these objects."—14th *Report*, 1831, p. 10.

A member of the Anti-Slavery Society, in order to meet the argument in favour of Liberia, that it tended to check the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, advanced the opinion, that measures for this purpose were unnecessary, since the nations the last to renounce that traffic are just about making it illegal. Yet the members of the Anti-Slavery Society must have had abundant proof of the inefficiency of mere legal prohibitions in those countries in which it is still secretly sanctioned, so long as the temptation and opportunity are afforded. They know, from our own cruisers, how extensive a contraband slave-trade is carried on; and they may learn, as I have done, from the independent testimony of British officers, not only the thriving condition of Liberia, but the completeness and extent of the check which it imposes upon the slave-trade.

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It was long since asserted and maintained by my friend James Cropper, in one of his valuable pamphlets, that there is hardly any more effectual means of abolishing the employment of slave labour, than that of bringing free labour into competition with it; and he has pointed out the articles and regions of the globe favourable to the application of this principle; and, if I do not mistake, Africa and cotton were mentioned by him. Yet, at his Meeting for the purpose of opposing the Colonization Society, when the only individual who offered to speak in its defence with much difficulty obtained a hearing, and followed the same train of reasoning in pointing out the advantages which might result from the cultivation of cotton and other tropical productions by the means of free labour on the coast of Africa, the reasoning was generally scouted. O'Connell compared it to the proposal of defending a city with leather: and another speaker, "in like gamesome mood," made a trial of his wit, by calling it a "woolly argument."

That the Reader may form some idea of the success and prosperity which have attended the progress of the Settlement of Liberia, I shall now offer the distinct and independent testimonies of several individuals of different classes who have either resided in or visited that colony.

TESTIMONIES OF COLONISTS AND PERSONS OF COLOUR.

Extracts from an Address of the Colonists to the Free People of Colour in the United States.

"At a numerous Meeting of the Citizens of Monrovia, held at the Court House, on the 27th of August 1827, for the purpose of considering the Expediency of uniting in an Address to the Coloured People of the United States—John H. Folks, Esq. in the Chair—

"(CIRCULAR.)

"As much speculation and uncertainty continues to prevail among the People of Colour in the United States respecting our situation and prospects in Africa; and many misrepresentations have been put in circulation there, of a nature slanderous to *us*, and, in their effects, injurious to *them*; we felt it our duty, by a true statement of our circumstances, to endeavour to correct them.

"The first consideration which caused our voluntary removal to this country, and the object which we still regard with the deepest concern, is liberty —liberty, in the sober simple, but complete sense of the word; — not a licentious liberty, nor a liberty without government, or which should place us without the restraint of salutary laws; but that liberty of speech, action, and conscience, which distinguishes the free enfranchised citizens of a free State. We did not enjoy that freedom in our native country; and, from causes which, as respects ourselves, we shall soon forget for ever, we were certain it was not there attainable for ourselves or our children. This, then, being the first object of our pursuit in coming to Africa, is probably the first object on which you will ask for information; and we must truly declare to you, that our expectations and hopes, in this respect, have been realized. Our Constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, 'all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the United States;' and these rights and privileges are ours.

"We solicit none of you to emigrate into this country; for we know not who among you prefers rational independence, and the honest respect of

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his fellow men, to that mental sloth and careless poverty which you already possess, and your children will inherit after you, in America. But if your views and aspirations rise a degree higher—if your minds are not as servile as your present condition—we can decide the question at once; and with confidence say, that you will bless the day, and your children after you, when you determined to become citizens of Liberia.

"But we do not hold this language on the blessings of liberty for the purpose of consoling ourselves for the sacrifice of health, or the sufferings of want, in consequence of our removal to Africa. We enjoy health, after a few months residence in the country, as uniformly and in as perfect a degree as we possessed that blessing in our native country; and a distressing scarcity of provisions, or any of the comforts of life, has for the last two years been entirely unknown, even to the poorest persons in this community. On these points, there are, and have been, much misconception, and some malicious misrepresentations, in the United States.

"Away with all the false notions that are circulating about the barrenness of this country! they are the observations of such ignorant or designing men as would injure both it and you. A more fertile soil, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not, we believe, on the face of the earth. Its hills and its plains are covered with a verdure which never fades: the productions of Nature keep on their growth through all the seasons of the year. Even the Natives of the country, almost without farming-tools, without skill, and with very little labour, raise more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell.

"Truly we have a goodly heritage! and if there is any thing lacking in the character or condition of the people of this colony, it never can be charged to the account of the country: it must be the fruit of our own mismanagement, or slothfulness, or vices. But from these evils, we confide in Him, to whom we are indebted for all our blessings, to preserve us: it is the topic of our weekly and daily thanksgiving to Almighty God, both in public and in private—and He knows with what sincerity—that we were ever conducted, by His providence, to this shore. Such great favours, in so short a time, and mixed with so few trials, are to be ascribed to nothing but His special blessing. This we acknowledge: we only want the gratitude which such signal favours call for. Nor are we willing to close this Paper without adding a heartfelt testimonial of the deep obligations we owe to our American patrons and best earthly benefactors, whose wisdom pointed us to this home of our nation, and whose active and persevering benevolence enabled us to reach it."—*See the History of Liberia*, p. 163.

Extract of a Letter from J. Shiphard, a Man of Colour, formerly a Teacher at Richmond U. S. (*Monrovia, March* 8, 1831.)

"From the first moment I resolved to come, I resolved to die here; and have never once regretted what I even now think was the direction of the Lord. With high esteem, yours in Christian bonds, JOSEPH SHIPHARD."

[*History of Liberia*, p. 128.

"*Washington, Sept.* 27, 1832.

"Dear Sir—Having been requested by the Free Coloured People of Natchez to visit Liberia, and see for ourselves the true state of things there, that we might make to them a correct and full report in regard to the prospects opening before Free Men of Colour who may settle in that colony—and having just returned from Africa—we present, through you, to our Coloured Brethren in the United States the following brief statement:—

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" On the 30th of June we anchored at Monrovia, and remained in the colony nearly three weeks; during all of which time we were anxiously engaged in making inquiries and observations, and endeavouring to learn the true condition and prospects of the people. We had the opportunity of examining nearly every settlement, and witnessing the actual state of most of the colonies. When we arrived, and set our feet on shore, we were treated with a kindness and hospitality far beyond our most sanguine expectations, and which made us feel ourselves at home. There was not a man that did not take us by the hand, and treat us as his brothers. The people there possess a spirit of liberty and independence, such as we have never seen among the people of this country. As a body, the people of Liberia, we think, owing to their circumstances, have risen in their style of living; and their happiness, as a community, is far above those of their Coloured brethren, even the most prosperous of them, that we have seen in the United States. They feel that they have a home. They have no fear of the White Man or the Coloured Man. They have no superiors. They do not look up to others, but they are looked up to by them. Their laws grow out of themselves, and are their own. They truly sit under their own vine and fig-tree, having none to molest and make them afraid. Since our return, we have been in the houses of some of the most respectable Men of Colour in New York and Philadelphia, but have seen none, on the whole, so well furnished as many of the houses of Monrovia. The floors are, in many cases, well carpeted; and all things about these dwellings appear neat, convenient, and comfortable. There are five schools; two of which we visited, and were much pleased with the teachers and the improvement of the children. We noticed very particularly the moral state of things; and during our visit saw but one man who appeared to be intemperate, and but two who used any profane language. The Sabbath is very strictly observed; and there is a great attention to Religion. We attended Church several times; and one of us, being a Minister of the Gospel, preached three times to large and attentive congregations. There must have been from three to four hundred at each religious service, all well dressed, and apparently respectable persons. We found only two persons in the colony who expressed any dissatisfaction; and we had much reason to doubt whether they had any good cause for it. The soil at Caldwell and Millsburg is as fertile as we ever saw, and much like the lands on the Mississippi. We saw growing upon it, pepper, corn, rice, sugar-cane, cassada, plantains, cotton, oranges, limes, coffee, peas, beans, sweet-potatoes, water-melons, cucumbers, sousop, bananas, and many other fruits and vegetables. We saw cattle, sheep, and goats, also swine and poultry, in great abundance. Wherever we went, the people appeared to enjoy good health; and a more healthy-looking people, particularly the children, we have not seen in the United States. We were there in what is called the rainy season; although it rained hard but once, for about half an hour, during the whole three weeks of our visit; and instead of the heat being oppressive, we had constantly a fine breeze, and the air was as cool as it is at Natchez about the last of September.

" We ought to say, that our voyage was very pleasant; and nearly all those who sailed with us from Norfolk (158) appeared to enjoy themselves well. Just before our arrival at the colony, a few were taken sick; and two children (one an infant) died soon after they were landed. Our own health, while in the colony, was perfectly good, althongh we were much exposed to night air. We must say, that, had what we have seen of the

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prosperity of the Colony of Liberia been reported to us by others, we could hardly have believed them; and are therefore prepared to expect that our own report may be discredited by our Coloured brethren. We wish them to see and judge for themselves. Whatever they may say or think, it is our deliberate judgment that the Free People of Colour will greatly improve their character and condition, and become more happy and more useful, by a removal to Liberia. There alone can the Black Man enjoy true freedom; and where that freedom is, shall be our country.

"GLOSTER SIMPSON.
ARCHY MOORE."

"*Monrovia, Liberia, March* 1, 1833.

"DEAR BROTHER BENJAMIN—We have arrived safely at Liberia—myself and all my family. On the passage, we had no sea-sickness; and, as yet, the fever of the country has not attacked us. It usually comes on in from two to six weeks after arrival: some die, others have it slightly. The event, as to me and mine, I leave with God. Hitherto I am much pleased, and am perfectly satisfied with the present circumstances of things. I believe an industrious man can live here easier than in the United States; and, as yet, I am so agreeably disappointed with the country, that I have no desire to return to the United States, *to live there*. I wish very much that you were here with me. I feel that I am in a land of great privileges and freedom. Last Sabbath, I preached three times in Baptist Churches. There are here Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists—all zealous and active in the good cause.

"The productions of the country are numerous: oranges, limes, indigo, plantains, &c., are all in plenty. I have sat at tables where fowls, and fish, and hams, and beef, were all served up as good as we have in the United States. I have drawn a *town lot*, and am living in a hired house until I get one built on it.

"There is a great demand here for stone-masons. I am now, though I have been here only one week, engaged on a house at 3 doll. 50 cents per perch, to be paid in cash; the price sometimes is 4.50. Tell my old friend Joseph Sandford, if he were here, he could find ready employment. I have found large storehouses, and others, built of stone, as we have in the United States; and some rich people living in style, as in any other country.

"REUBEN MOSS."

[*From the African Repository, July* 1833, p. 155.

The following is from one of the Settlers to a Coloured Friend.

"*Monrovia, March* 1, 1833.

"I write a few lines by Roanoke, to urge you to come out to Liberia. The country exceeds what I anticipated while in America. It is rich, and abounds in tropical fruits: it yields a large return to the labourer. The climate is delightful; and the heat not near so oppressive as in our summers and harvestings. The sea-breezes blow here every day; and at night, I find a blanket adds to my comfort. A man can get a living, and make money here in various ways, as in the United States, by trading or farming, &c. I am intending to try farming. If you come at all, come soon: the earliest settlers, we think, will have the best chance. My family is all well, and send their respects to you. Remember me to all inquiring friends.

"WILLIAM REYNOLDS."

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Extract from a Letter to R. R. Gurley, of the American Colonization Society. From George M. Erskine, a highly respectable Minister of Colour.

"Liberia, March 9, 1833.

"REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER—We embarked on the 14th of January 1830; and arrived at Monrovia, February 28th, after a pleasant voyage of forty-two days. It was, upon the whole, a pleasant voyage. The emigrants are fifty-eight in number. No sickness worth naming, except that of the sea, on the way; nor as yet. We are all yet together in a house prepared for the reception of emigrants; where we expect to remain till we pass the fever, should we outlive it. There is a general satisfaction among the emigrants; they are pleased with their new country and present prospect: my own family have no desire to return. We were received by the Agent and former emigrants with the strongest marks of friendship, and welcomed as citizens of Liberia. Our prospects of farms on which to live are inviting and flattering; being between Monrovia and Millsburg, on the bank of the St. Paul's. I presume that the situation will be a healthy one, so soon as it becomes an open country, having a pleasant sea-breeze from two directions. My dear Sir, I believe this colony is a plant planted by the Great Husbandman of the Universe: to it He hath already proved a guardian: around it He has erected his pavilion: and if the citizens only fear God and work righteousness, and continue in union under a wholesome civil government and laws, from the flourishing state of the colony there is reason to believe it will grow into a great empire. There is a large field for the labours of a Gospel Minister. If the Lord will, it will give me much pleasure, indeed, to labour in this part of His moral vineyard; but in this, His will be done! My time in this country being short, it is but little I can say about it. This much I can say, my expectations in coming to it are already realized. Never did I feel so much like a freeman as I have since I came here. I would heartily recommend to every Freeman of Colour to leave the United States for Liberia; and any one who wishes to do well, particularly those who have a little property. Were I at Virginia, and had 500 dollars to lay out at Richmond, I could in a short time convert it into a fortune here.

"The thing most to be deplored in this colony is the want of a good school, and an enlightened teacher for poor children whose parents cannot school them; for in this tropical country, where there is an abundance of gold, ivory, cam-wood, coffee and sugar, indigo, and many lucrative fruits, we could have an enlightened community. There is nothing to hinder it from rising to a level, in point of eminence, wealth, and power, among the most refined nations of the earth. There is no way in which those in America, who feel friendly to this infant colony, can confer so great a favour on it as to establish a Free School for the benefit of the poor children in it. This I hope you will influence them to do. There are many to whom I wish to write. Your servant, GEORGE M. ERSKINE,"

[*See Innes's History of Liberia*, p. 124.

LETTER *from* DOVER NUTTER, *a respectable, intelligent, and pious old Man of Colour, formerly of Salisbury, Somerset County, Maryland; to Levin H. Patrick, Corresponding Secretary of the Salisbury Auxiliary Colonization Society; dated Monrovia, April* 9, 1833.

"RESPECTED SIR—It is a comfort to me to have it in my power to communicate to you the satisfaction I have in being here. Since our arrival here, I visited Grand Bassa, a place about to be settled; with which I was

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pleased. I found it to be a fine place: the soil is rich, the growth of the trees are large, and the land level. I am so much pleased with it, that I shall remove there with my family. It is about three days' walk, at leisure, from Monrovia. Several of us went down to see the place: we dined several times with the kings of that part of the country, and found them very pleasant and agreeable.

"I was much dissatisfied when I arrived here; but now I am much better satisfied here than when I was in America. I find that to be comfortable is to be industrious and stirring. I find this country is not so warm as I did expect to find it; and it is much cooler at Bassa than it is at Monrovia.

"My family all enjoy as good health as I could reasonably expect, and appear to be as well satisfied as myself. I find that I can get more work to do in the carpenter's line than I can do.

"Be pleased to remember me to all your family, and those of our acquaintance who may ask after us.

"Be pleased to assist my son William to come on; and I am sure this place will suit him better than any other.

"Emmanuel, his family, and all, are well at present. I found Mr. Prout agreeable, while on board the vessel, and after our arrival here. He went out as our Agent."—*From the National Intelligencer, Washington, Aug.* 17, 1833.

"*To Mr. Moses James, Wicomico, Maryland.*

"*Monrovia, April* 13, 1833.

"Dear Sir—I am glad to have it in my power to inform you, that mother, brother, and myself, are quite well at present; and should be glad if you and family are the same. I thank God that we are all arrived safe! and are quite satisfied and much pleased with the country: it is much better than we did expect to find it.

"I do think that you all can do well here, as it is a good country: all it wants is, industrious people: therefore I would advise you to come, and as many others of you as want to enjoy freedom and liberty; for here we have both, and enjoy it, as God intended we should do.

"I had not one week's sickness altogether, since I have been here. The distance is great; but I am sure that the pleasure you will see here will more than pay you for all your trouble.—I remain your Sister in Christ,

"Elizabeth Winder."

"*New Warehouses.*—It is but a few months since we noticed the erection of two or three warehouses, of good size, on our Water-street; and among the improvements progressing in that part of our town, we perceive three other warehouses, belonging to Messrs. Nelson, Cheeseman, and M'Gill, ready to receive their roofs. The great rise of property in that part of the town would astonish many across the Atlantic, who pretend to believe that land can be purchased for a mere trifle in this colony.

"*High School.*— We were surprised, and at the same time gratified, to perceive in one of the late Numbers of the African Repository, just come to hand, that Mr. Henry Sheldon, of New York, has placed at the disposal of the Board of Managers of the Parent Society the sum of 2000 dollars, towards forming a fund for the support of a High School in our colony. This is a subject upon which we had reflected much; and years ago held conversations with friends in Boston upon the feasibility of the plan. All doubt is now at an end. Mr. Sheldon's donation is a noble foundation

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upon which to build, and long may he live, to witness '*The Sheldon High School of Liberia,*' in full operation! Our Coloured brethren in America must be up and doing; their wealthy men must give more, if they wish not to see the Sheldon High School in operation before even they can fix with certainty upon a site for their contemplated college." — *Extracts from the Liberia Herald of March* 11 *and April* 10, 1833, *inserted in the African Repository for July* 1833, p. 158.

" *Commerce and Productions.*— The commerce of Liberia, as yet in its infancy, is respectable, and increasing annually. The exports are, rice, palm-oil, ivory, tortoise-shell, dye-wood, gold, hides, wax, and coffee. Coffee and cotton grow spontaneously; indigo and the sugar-cane succeed, and will be cultivated to advantage; cam-wood is abundant; and mahogany grows at the Cape. The timber of Liberia is various and durable, and well adapted to building. The imports consist of an assortment of the productions of Europe, the West Indies, and America. The port of Monrovia is seldom clear of European and American vessels, loading and unloading.

" A trading company has been formed at Monrovia, with a capital of 1000 dollars; and an agreement entered into, that no dividend shall be made until the profits increase the capital to 20,000 dollars. The stock has risen from 50 to 75, on transfer shares.

" A colonist of the name of Waring had sold goods to the amount of 70,000 dollars in the year 1830. The sales of Mr. Devany, the sheriff, amounted to between 24,000 and 25,000 dollars in 1830; and his property was worth about 20,000 dollars, made during the seven years in which he has resided in Monrovia.

" The commerce of the colony during the last year has greatly exceeded that of any former year. Within that period, forty-six vessels visited the port, of which twenty-one were American, and a majority of the remainder English. The exports amounted to nearly 90,000 dollars; and the merchandise and produce on hand amounted to about 25,000 dollars."

[15*th Report*, 1830, p. 43.

TESTIMONIES OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE VISITED THE COLONY.

" *Washington, March* 17, 1828.

" Sir—Having visited the Colony of Liberia, on my return to the United States from a cruise in the Mediterranean, I cheerfully comply with your request, by presenting to you such views of its present condition and probable growth as occurred to me in the course of that visit.

" I cannot give you better evidence of the prosperity of the colony, than by mentioning, that eight of my crew (Coloured mechanics), after going on shore two several days, applied for, and received, their discharge, in order to remain as permanent settlers. These men had been absent from their country three years, and had among them nearly 2000 dollars in clothes and money. Had they not been thoroughly convinced that their happiness and prosperity would be better promoted by remaining among their free brethren in Liberia, they would not have determined on so momentous a step as quitting the United States, perhaps for ever, where they had all left friends and relatives.

" The appearance of all the colonists, those of Monrovia as well as those of Caldwell, indicated more than contentment. Their manners were those

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of freemen, who experienced the blessings of liberty, and appreciated the boon. Many of them had, by trade, accumulated a competency, if the possession of from 3000 to 5000 dollars may be called so. As a proof of the growing importance of the commerce of the country, more than 100 hogsheads of tobacco had been imported during the last year, and the demand was increasing. Ivory and cam-wood are now the prominent articles received in exchange for foreign imports: other dye-woods, and medicinal gums and roots, will be hereafter brought in: they are already known to exist in the interior."—*Extracts from a Letter of Capt. Nicolson, U. S. Navy, to the Hon. Henry Clay; inserted in the Report of the Proceedings of the Pennsylvanian Colonization Society*, 1830, pp. 20, 21.

"*New York, Oct.* 21, 1829.

"SIR—I have had an opportunity, since my return, of conversing with several of the colonists who visited this country and have again returned to Liberia. From their conversation, with all the information derived from other sources, I am convinced more and more of the utility of supporting a colony which will have the effect of again restoring the descendants of this race to their natural soil and climate, with every advantage of civilization, and, it is to be hoped, with the blessings of religion. Every philanthropist ought to rejoice at the prospect of sending the *only Missionaries* which the climate will allow them to receive; for the White Man is not calculated, from this cause, to carry those blessings, the knowledge of which alone raises man above the savage.

"I conceive this colony to be the most effectual mode of destroying the horrid traffic which has been, and is now, the disgrace of civilization. The slave-trade, no doubt, has received a more effectual check since the establishment of the colony of Liberia than for a century before: this is a powerful motive to call forth the best energies of our countrymen, who have so strenuously endeavoured to destroy this traffic, both by the acts of our Government, as well as individual exertion."—*Extract of Capt. Nicolson's Letter to the Rev. J. M. Wainwright; inserted in the Report of the Proceedings of the Pennsylvanian Colonization Society, for* 1830, pp. 22, 23.

"Among the passengers was the Rev. George Erskine, a Presbyterian Minister, with his wife, five children (the youngest about ten years old), and his mother, who was born in Africa, about eighty years of age. All this family were born slaves: their freedom was bought by Mr. Erskine, that of his mother excepted. Erskine himself is a very intelligent man: he preached for us, every Sabbath during the passage, sermons that would have been listened to with pleasure by any Christian audience. In reply to my question, respecting his views in emigrating, he said: 'Capt. Sherman, I am going to a new country, to settle myself and family, as agriculturists—to a country where we shall be at least on a level with any of our fellow-citizens; where the complexion will be no barrier to our filling the most exalted station. I shall cultivate the land assigned me by the Colonization Society; and, if it please God to spare my life, shall be always ready to do good, as opportunity offers.'

"After a passage of forty-two days, I landed the emigrants at Liberia, all in good health and spirits. They were located at Caldwell, about seven miles from the sea, on the river St. Paul's. They frequently visited Monrovia while I was in that place, and expressed much satisfaction with their situation and prospects. On taking leave of me the day before I left

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Monrovia, Erskine said (evidently with much sincerity), 'I can never be thankful enough to God for directing my views to this country!'

"For particulars respecting the state of the colony, I refer you to my Letter to Edward Hallowell, esq., published in the United States Gazette of May 20th, and Poulston's Advertiser of the 21st.

"No person possessing the feelings which, in my opinion, give a dignity to man, can view the interesting settlement of Monrovia without rejoicing that a civilized and Christian community is established in benighted Africa, with prospects of dispensing blessings to millions of that degraded people. That you may meet with those aids from a generous public, which your exertions so richly merit, in the furtherance of your laudable design, is the sincere wish of your obedient servant,

"W. E. SHERMAN."

[*Extracts from a Letter inserted in the Report of the Proceedings of the Pennsylvanian Colonization Society for* 1830, pp. 15, 16.

"There is much hospitality to be found in Monrovia; and, among the inhabitants, a greater proportion of moral and religious characters than in this city (Philadelphia). I never saw a man intoxicated, nor heard any profane swearing, during the three weeks I was among them.

"The two houses for religious worship, already noticed, are, Baptist and Methodist. The Baptists have three, and the Methodists five preachers, all intelligent Coloured Men, merchants and traders, residing among them; so that the people have nothing to pay for the support of Ministers. Five German Missionaries, some Ministers and Teachers, reside there, a portion of whom preach at the Methodist Church occasionally.

"A trading company has been formed at Monrovia, with a capital of 4000 dollars; and an agreement entered into, that no dividend shall be made until the profits increase the capital to 20,000 dollars. The stock has risen from fifty to seventy-five dollars per share, in one year.

"It has been objected, that the climate is very unhealthy; this is true as respects the Whites, but erroneous as respects the Coloured People. Those from the Middle and Northern States have to undergo what is called a seasoning—that is, they generally take the fever the first month of their residence; but it has rarely proved fatal, since accomodations have been prepared for their reception: those from Georgia, the Carolinas, and the southern parts of Virginia, either escape the fever altogether, or have it very slightly. Deaths occur there, indeed, as in other places; but Dr. Mechlin, the Agent, assured me that the bills of mortality would shew a less proportion of deaths than those of Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York.

"I will add my opinion, though I fear you may think it presumptuous. I have no hesitation in saying, that I believe Liberia will, in time, become a great nation; and be the means, eventually, of civilizing a great part of Africa, and, I should hope, the whole of that benighted country. There are already in Monrovia at least sixty children of Native parents; and there would be, if wanted, many more.

"Do you ask what kind of government the Liberians would establish, if a great nation, and left to themselves? I answer, a Republican, unquestionably. The intelligent emigrants having been brought up in this country, and the first laws in operation among them being Republican, they would be as well prepared for happiness under such a government as any people in the world. The adult male inhabitants consider themselves *men*, and know how to enjoy the blessings of a free constitution, and will never surrender their liberties but with their lives. They are now as

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patriotic Americans as our forefathers were loyal subjects of the kings of England. Should they receive no further aid from this country, they will nevertheless, in my opinion, attain to greatness eventually; but if that aid, which I think they so justly deserve, should be continued, their progress to this end will be greatly accelerated.

"Some are of opinion that Hayti is preferable to Liberia for Coloured People to emigrate to. A little reflection will, I think, shew the error of this opinion. Hayti is, and ever has been, in the hands of military despots: the Haytians have never known what rational liberty was, nor ever can: experience has shewn this to be the case. What would People of Colour, from this country, gain by going to Hayti?—'they would be kept as labourers,' 'hewers of wood, and drawers of water,' to the haughty Haytian. They would have no share in the government; and could never rise to any degree of eminence. If they must have masters, they prefer White to those of their own colour: this I have found to be universally their sentiment. The manners and customs of the Haytians are different from those of our people, as is their language. The religious and even moral Coloured People cannot be happy where the Sabbath is a day of revelry and dissipation and they considered as heretics, and where the morals of the people are little better than those of the Native African."—*Extracts from a Letter from W. E. Sherman, inserted in the Proceedings of the Pennsylvanian Colonization Society, for* 1830, pp. 19, 20.

"*Norfolk, June* 22, 1831.

"Sir—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 11th instant, requesting my opinion of the condition, prospects, and necessities of the Colony at Liberia; and of the best method to be adopted by the society for the more effectual prosecution of the great work in which they are engaged.

"I hope I need not assure you that it affords me great gratification to comply with your request; and to lay before you a statement of the facts which presented themselves to me during the visit I made at Montserado, in the frigate Java, under my command.

"The wisdom and talent which distinguish the councils of the society to which you belong, and the vast materials which your experience and zeal have enabled you to collect, cause great diffidence on my part, in the suggestion of any new plan of operations. I was, however, not an idle observer, during my stay among the colonists; and the conclusions which pressed upon my mind, as the results of my inquiries, shall be most cheerfully submitted, for your better judgment and consideration.

"It may not be improper to observe, in the outset, that my inquiries were commenced under auspices very unfavourable to the practicability of the scheme of your society; for while, I trust, I yielded unfeigned acknowledgment of the piety and purity of purpose which governed its worthy and disinterested projectors, yet the vast difficulties attending the prosecution of their labours, and the very problematical results, in the want of success, left an impression upon my mind altogether unfavourable to the institution:—under these impressions, therefore, I commenced my inquiry with great caution. I sought out the most shrewd and intelligent of the colonists, many of whom were personally known to me, and, by long and weary conversations, endeavoured to elicit from them any dissatisfaction with their condition (if such existed), or any latent design to return to their native

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country:—neither of these did I observe; on the contrary, I thought I could perceive that they considered that they had started into a new existence; that, disencumbered of the mortifying relations in which they formerly stood in society, they felt themselves proud in their attitude; and seemed conscious, that while they were the founders of a new empire, they were prosecuting the noble purpose of the regeneration of the land of their fathers.

"I was pleased to observe that they were impressed with the vast importance of a proper education, not only of their children, but of the children of the Natives; and that to this they looked confidently as the means of effecting their high object, namely, the civilization of their benighted brethren in Africa.

"I observed with great satisfaction, that their children, in many instances, could converse in the language of the tribes by which the colony is surrounded. Thus the obstacles which embarrassed its commerce with the interior, and which, by the bye, are even now but few, must in a short time cease entirely to exist. Most of the articles of traffic which can be profitably used in barter with the Natives are familiar to your readers; but there are yet some which have not employed the enterprise of our citizens; and of those embraced in their speculations, many improvements in quality might advantageously be enumerated. The inhabitants of King Boatswain's town (180 miles up the St. Paul's River, and twenty miles from it, which empties into the Bay of Montserado) interchange with the most friendly dispositions towards the colonists.

"It gives me pleasure to state, that the colonists are turning their attention to the cultivation of coffee. That this article of produce is to prove a source of vast wealth to the colonists, there can be no doubt: the labour and expense of its cultivation will be comparatively small; indeed, they have but to clear away the forest-trees, and the plantations are ready to their hands. There are two descriptions of the plant indigenous; one a shrub, evidently the same as the Mocha, but yielding a berry of superior flavour; the other a tree, frequently attaining the height of forty feet. A specimen of the latter I brought with me to Cuba, in the Java; and left with Mr. Shaler, our Consul, for the Botanic-garden of that city. I had also several of the shrubs, or small growth; but they all perished, by salt-water getting to them.

"That there are many vast resources yet undeveloped in Liberia, no one can entertain a doubt: that they will soon be brought forth, and made available, by the enterprise and intelligence of the colonists, is equally unquestionable. How earnestly, then, should every philanthropist apply himself to aid and advance the operations of a society, the object of which is, not only to elevate so large a portion of our fellow-beings from the degrading relations in which they stand towards the rest of the human race, but to redeem from the thraldom of ignorance, superstition, and vice, a whole continent! That these great results are, under Providence, to be accomplished, is a conviction to which I have been brought, by actual experience and scrutinising observation.

"To those who have been the protectors of this undertaking, how enviable the joy derived from the anticipation! And when the happy result shall have been consummated, what monument so glorious to their memory as the gratitude of millions disenthralled!" — *Extracts from Capt. Kennedy's Letter, 15th Report*, 1832, pp. 27, 28, 30.

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"*Washington, Feb.* 10, 1832.

"DEAR SIR—Having just arrived in the United States from the Colony of Liberia, to which place I went as Master of the schooner Margaret Mercer, and where I remained thirteen days—during which time I was daily on shore, and carefully observed the state of affairs, and inquired into the condition of the people—I venture to state some facts in regard to the circumstances and prospects of the colony. On the 14th December, I arrived; and on the 15th went on shore, and was received in the most polite and friendly manner by the Governor, Dr. Mechlin, who introduced me to the Ministers and principal inhabitants. All my expectations, in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers, were more than realized. There are about 200 buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the Cape Montserado, not far from a mile and a quarter. Most of these are good substantial houses and stores, the first story of many of them being of stone; and some of them handsome, spacious, painted, and with Venetian blinds. Nothing struck me as more remarkable, than the great superiority, in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect, of the people over their Coloured brethren in America. So much was I pleased with what I saw, that I observed to the people: 'Should I make a true report, it would hardly be credited in the United States.' Among all that I conversed with, *I did not find a discontented person*, or hear one express a desire to return to America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. Being a Minister of the Gospel, on Christmas-day I preached both in the Methodist and Baptist Church, to full and attentive congregations of from three to four hundred persons in each. I know of no place where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia. I was glad to see that the Colonial Agent or Governor is a constant attendant on Divine service, and appears desirous of promoting the moral and religious welfare of the people. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property; and I have no doubt they are doing better for themselves and their children in Liberia than they could do in any other part of the world. Could the Free People of Colour in this country but see the real condition of their brethren who have settled in Africa, I am persuaded they would require no other motive to induce them to emigrate. This is my decided and deliberate judgment.

"P.S. I have several times dined with the colonists; and I think no better tables could be set in any part of the world. We had every thing that heart could desire, of meats, and fish, and fowls, and vegetables, and wines, &c. &c." [*Capt. William Abel's Letter, 15th Report*, 1832, p. 32.

TESTIMONIES OF ENGLISH WHO HAVE VISITED LIBERIA.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY HANNAH KILHAM.

"*Liberia, 3d Month, 13th*, 1832.

"I have met with a very kind reception from the residents in this place; and should grieve to think of so early a departure from the colony, were it not for the hope that we may be permitted to maintain a communication by letters, which could not have been so fully entered into by persons who had never met, as it may now: but having been here even for a short time, I have been enabled, as a sister, to enter into sympathy with those around me, in the difficulties, the consolations, and the duties connected with a situation so peculiar and so responsible as that of the first settlers in a

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colony like this. Some with whom I have had communications have possessed themselves of the comforts and accommodations of life, chiefly the fruit of a few years of persevering, steady industry; and are anxiously concerned for the promotion of the general welfare of the colony, and of the new emigrants whom they desire to see coming out, from time to time, in such numbers as the Colonial Society may be able to send. The Colonial Government is providing for the education of a number of children in each settlement; and some benevolent females in America are aiding this good cause, by providing for the instruction of two Girls' Schools, and sending out well-qualified and estimable Women of Colour, as teachers for them. The Girls' School in Caldwell is already opened; and the excellent combination of gentleness and steady command in the teacher is seen in the respectful and cheerful attention exhibited in the countenances of her pupils. The friends of this cause will hear with concern, that the other teacher, Betsey Johnson, a very superior woman, has been kept back from her purpose by sickness, and has lost her husband. He had the fever of the country in a mild form; but, after walking out, was speedily carried off by sickness of an apoplectic kind. This colony altogether presents quite a new scene of combined African and American interest. I cannot but hope and trust that it is in the design of Infinite Goodness to prepare a home in this land for many who have been denied the full extent of that privilege in the land of their birth; and that some, who are brought here but as a shelter and resource for themselves, may, through the visitations of Heavenly Goodness in their own minds, and the further leadings of Divine Love, become ministers of the glad tidings of the Gospel to many who are now living in darkness and the shadow of death. Not that I would convey the idea of a high state of religious feeling or great missionary zeal in the colony; but still I cannot doubt the existence of sincere desire to prefer the things that are excellent and that make for everlasting peace; and trust that the many outward cares that attend the formation of a new colony, with prospects of so rapid an extension, will not be suffered to take the place, in the leading residents here, of that feeling which connects all our desires with some sense of the transient nature of that which must perish with the using, and of the superior importance of that which is spiritual and eternal. The laws of Liberia against violations of order and morality are more strict than any other I have heard of; and I trust that strength will be given them not to relax on these important points, but thus to check those beginnings of disorder which gather strength and malignity by neglect. Great discouragement has been thrown out with respect to Liberia, on account of the mortality in an early stage of the arrival of some of the emigrants. Several circumstances contributed to this—the want of sufficient provisions for the first arrivals, the lack of medical residents, and the removal from a cold and mountainous district to so warm a climate. Monrovia appears, for an African station, very favourable and pleasant. The Governor, Dr. Mechlin, was absent at the time we arrived; having gone to Grand Bassa, to arrange for the formation of a new settlement. On my way to Caldwell, we stopped at New Georgia, a settlement that much interested me, about half-way between this and Caldwell. The situation of the Boys' School is beautiful; and the children lively in application, but not many well advanced; the school having been scattered more than once, to make a temporary receptacle for the new emigrants."

The character of Hannah Kilham, and her benevolent and religious zeal for the welfare of Africa, which induced her to devote her time and her life to its cause, are too well known to the friends of the Negro Race generally, to

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require that I should make any statement of them here; but it is worthy of remark, as enhancing the value of the preceding extract, that she left this country by no means prepossessed in favour of Liberia.

The following sketch of the state and progress of the colony deserves particular attention: it is extracted from an account of the Western Coast of Africa, furnished to our Government by Captain Arabin, of the Royal Navy, who was for some years stationed upon that coast, and may therefore be regarded as unbiassed and official.

"On the subject of Sierra Leone, and the causes of its failure, so much has been said, that it would be superfluous to repeat them here. Public expectation has not, certainly, been answered; but that these experiments are not of a fanciful or impracticable nature, is completely proved by the success which has attended the colony which came next in succession on this coast. This is a bold promontory, called originally Monte Serrado, but corrupted, as all names are, by Negro pronunciation, into Mesurado. The American Colonization Society located here a number of Free People of Colour, the offspring of African Slaves born in America, and liberated. They were sent from the United States, and the settlement was called by the appropriate name of *Liberia*. There are but few White People among them, and none who possess any land. When the colony was first established, the land was procured from the Native Chiefs, by purchase and treaty; but some misunderstanding arose, the real objects of the colonists were not understood, and several sanguinary conflicts ensued with the Natives, which had nearly destroyed the establishment, in its infancy. But, under the prudent management of Mr. Ashmun, the Agent for the society, these differences were reconciled, and amity and good-will established between the Natives and the strangers.

"The settlement consists of two establishments. The first is Monrovia, on Cape Mesurado; and the other Caldwell, seven miles up the river St. Paul. The whole population amounts to about 300 families, comprising more than 1500 persons, who have each farms allotted to them, some in the lower and some on the upper settlement. A regular and most improved system of husbandry is insisted on. Every man is not allowed to burn down and cultivate any portion of the land he pleases, as permitted in our colonies; which, being abandoned the next year and suffered to run into brush, is known to contribute greatly to taint the air, in an extraordinary degree, which cultivation had rendered salubrious. Their prescribed system of agriculture is regulated by those plans which local experience has found to be most judicious, wholesome, and productive; and no man is allowed to deviate from it: in this way their maintenance and independence, and, to a certain extent, their health is provided for and secured. The males are formed into a regular militia; which, being well trained and served, renders the colony respectable in the eyes of its neighbours, and secures them from any act of aggression; and this force has been efficiently called out more than once, to punish depredations and robberies committed by Natives on individual colonists while in pursuit of their commercial speculations either coastwise or in the interior, and always with the best results. This mode of well-regulated self-defence not only gives them courage and confidence in themselves, but it exempts them from the degrading and demoralizing effects of a regular soldiery sent from the parent country; which being generally of the worst and most desperate description of men, set examples of the most dissolute and profligate lives, as our colonies in Africa know

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by melancholy experience. This imposing domestic force gives perfect security to these people in their dealings with the Natives; and a very profitable and advantageous trade is carried on, for gold, cam-wood, and ivory, with the Gallinas and Cape Mount, to the north of their settlement, and as far coastwise as Tradetown, to the east of it.

"Nothing has tended more to suppress the slave-trade in this quarter than the constant intercourse and communication of the Natives with these industrious colonists. The American Agent, Mr. Ashmun, took every opportunity and means in his power to extinguish a traffic so injurious in every way to the fair trader; and, at Cape Mesurado, good and correct information was always to be obtained of any slave-vessels on the coast within the communication or influence of the colony. This active, respectable, and intelligent man is since dead; but his spirit still actuates all his people. They have several large boats and small-decked vessels belonging to their community, and others in progress of building: these are actively employed in trading along the coast, and in keeping up the intercourse with Caldwell and the interior.

"The river St. Paul does not run directly inland, but takes a course coastwise, to the north: it does not therefore penetrate far into the country. The commercial enterprise, however, of the people has been excited by the favourable accounts which had reached them of the interior; and induced several to push their speculations as far as 150 miles, without the aid of internal navigation, to a large and populous town, the residence of a native king of considerable influence, with whom a lucrative commerce is now opened, and actively carried on, for gold and ivory; and the supply of the former, through this channel, has greatly exceeded expectation.

"The character of these industrious colonists is exceedingly correct and moral, their minds strongly impressed with religious feelings, their manners serious and decorous, and their domestic habits remarkably neat and comfortable. They had the inestimable advantage of being originally brought up in the frugal and pains-taking habits of the people of the country from whence they were sent; and received, when young, the moral, religious, and literary instruction of White People in their class of life. These they have brought with them; and they practise them with more effect, as they have no bad examples to mislead them. Those who have visited them speak highly of their appearance and mode of living. They are a comely and well-formed race of the Negroes, neat and clean in their persons, modest and civil in their manners, and regular and comfortable in their dwellings. Their houses are well built, ornamented with gardens and other pleasing decorations, and on the inside are remarkably clean—the walls well whitewashed, and the rooms neatly furnished. They are very hospitable to strangers; and many English naval officers on the station have been invited to dine with them, and joined in their meals, which were wholesome and good. The man of the house regularly said grace, both before and after meat, with much solemnity; in which he was joined by the rest of his family, with great seeming sincerity. They all speak good English, as their native language, and without any defect of pronunciation. They are well supplied with books, particularly Bibles and Liturgies. They have Pastors of their own colour; and Meeting-houses, in which Divine Service is well and regularly performed every Sunday: and they have four Schools at Mesurado, and three at Caldwell. By one ship alone they received 500 volumes, presented by Dartmouth College; and several boxes and packets of school-books, sent by friends at Boston.

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"The complete success of this colony is a proof that Negroes are, by proper care and attention, as susceptible of the habits of industry and the improvements of social life as any other race of human beings; and that the amelioration of the condition of the Black People on the coast of Africa, by means of such colonies, is not chimerical. Wherever the influence of this colony extends, the slave-trade has been abandoned by the Natives, and the peaceful pursuits of legitimate commerce established in its place. They not only live on terms of harmony and good-will together, but the colonists are looked upon with a certain degree of respect by those of their own colour; and the force of their example is likely to have a strong effect in inducing the people about them to adopt it. A few colonies of this kind, scattered along the coast, would be of infinite value in improving the Natives: they would much sooner acquire their confidence and esteem, as not exciting that jealousy which foreigners always cause; and the very example of their own race, thus raised in the moral and social scale, would be the strongest motive to induce others to adopt and practise those qualities by which they were rendered so much more comfortable and happy. Should no unfortunate event retard the progress of those colonists, and no baneful vices be introduced among them, there is every reason to hope they will diffuse cultivation and improvement in Africa to a considerable extent; as they have already done, on a limited scale, as far as their influence has reached."

The following extract from the American Paper will serve to shew both the elevating effects which the advantages of Liberia may produce upon the Negro character, and also of the re-action which operates on the American prejudice against the People of Colour, when individuals so improved exhibit the Race under characters different from those in which it is too often seen."

"Among them (the passengers in a vessel sailing for Liberia) was a Coloured Man—in spite of prejudice, I will say a Gentleman—returning from a visit of a few months to the United States: I mean Jacob W. Prout, formerly of Baltimore, but for the last eight or ten years a citizen of Liberia. He affords a happy instance of the effect of freedom on a sound mind. While he fully sustained the character belonging to him as a citizen of a free State, he was unassuming in his intercourse with the White, and attentive and courteous to the Coloured People, with whom he freely associated; and thus, by a demeanour unpretending and modest, he conciliated the good-will, and has carried with him the good wishes, of both. I view him as affording a demonstration of the fact heretofore questioned, and said to exist only in the excited imagination of enthusiasts, That freedom confers elevation of character, without reference to colour."—*From a Baltimore Paper; quoted in the African Repository for Feb.* 1833, p. 383.

I have now endeavoured to reply to the principal objections which have been urged against the American Colonization Society. The form of a defence, it will be admitted, is not the best adapted to set forth the merits and attractions of the party attacked. The time will come, when the opponents of this society will regret the part which they have taken: and whereas some now dread the obloquy of being thought its supporters, its praises will hereafter be proclaimed by emulous panegyrists. Already it is hastening the work of emancipation amongst the once-hopeless slaves of Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky. Already it has checked the inhuman slave-trade;

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and conciliated the fierce and idolatrous pagan chiefs, who now seek, through its means, the improvement of those whom they formerly consigned to the horrors of the slave-ship. Already it has sent back the elevated Afro-American to receive kindness and courtesy and honourable distinction, instead of the contumacy and contempt which he formerly shared. Thus it has already prepared to give the death-blow to one of the worst of prejudices which has disfigured human-nature. Such is the Institution which the Anti-Slavery Society, in its mistaken zeal, has held up for execration, and endeavoured to defeat! Wherever the advocates of the Colonization Society have appeared, the energetic and extensive organization of the Anti-slavery Society has hastened to assail them and obstruct their labours, and to eradicate the seed which they had sown. "In heavenly minds could such perverseness dwell?"

Such is my conviction of the merits of the Colonization Society, founded on a careful examination of its objects and principles, of the measures which it employs, and of the results which have given proof of its power. An attentive perusal of its valuable Reports, as well as the testimony of impartial witnesses, cannot fail, I conceive, to produce the same sentiment in the minds of others; yet I do not hesitate to assert that I am open to conviction from the opposite side, if it can be shewn that, in spite of all the evidence brought before me, I have been deceived. But were it possible for such an occurrence to take place, and detach my good wishes from the Colonization Society, I should, notwithstanding, be constrained to defend a calumniated individual, whose sincere and disinterested devotion to the cause of the society has subjected him to obloquy and persecution. But, in the full persuasion which I have avowed of the merits of the Colonization Society, and of the justice of its cause, I should feel that, had my attempt been more successful than I can flatter myself it has been, it would still be imperfectly performed were I to leave unnoticed the injury which the Colonization Society has received from this country, in the person of its representative. Private friendship, as well as public justice, urge me to this part of the work which I have undertaken; and in espousing the cause of Elliott Cresson, I feel a pleasure in holding up the generous and disinterested conduct, the indefatigable energy, and persevering zeal of that philanthropist, notwithstanding the difficulties and discouragements with which he has been almost constantly met. Elliott Cresson, who had visited this country many years before he came to it as the advocate of the Colonization Society, has been long known, respected, and esteemed by myself personally. For many years he has been the friend of the Coloured Race in America. He early became interested in the success of the Colonization Society. When the very limited funds of the infant institution arrested its proceedings, through inability to meet the difficulties which opposed it, insomuch that the continued existence of the society appeared doubtful, Elliott Cresson came forward, and devoted all his energies to the cause. He made himself personally responsible for the equipment of a vessel charged with emigrants and effects for the reinforcement of the colony, then struggling for its doubtful existence: he revived the zeal of its friends; and a second and third vessel were already advanced in preparation, whilst their predecessors were hardly under weigh. The prospects of the society rapidly brightened; the exertions of Auxiliary Societies increased its funds; from every part of the Union, donations and legacies came in; the influential members of almost every Christian community gave it the sanction of their approbation; and members of Congress publicly defended it. Elliott Cresson, instead of sitting down the delighted but inactive spectator of this prosperity, resolved to come over to this

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country; where he had previously endeavoured to obtain, by correspondence, friends and supporters for the Colonization Society. He came as the official organ of that society, but took upon himself the charges of this long and unavoidably expensive mission. Instead of finding his cause generally and warmly espoused in a country which has rendered itself conspicuous by its efforts as well as its professions in favour of Africa and Africans, whom it had once been foremost to oppress, his labours were impeded, or actively opposed, by many of those very individuals who made themselves prominent as the advocates of the African cause in England, and who were consequently looked up to as guides, in conduct and opinion, in reference to this subject. He has, however, received the sanction and encouragement of some of those whose opinions are every way entitled to the greatest deference and respect. It is enough to say, that Wilberforce honoured and supported him by his friendship, and continued to avow his approbation of the Colonization Society, notwithstanding the attacks and insinuations of its adversaries, until near the period of his lamented death, when the *ex-parte* statements of those who knew the importance of his authority obtained a triumph, the achievement of which confers no honour. Elliott Cresson still retains the friendship, as his cause does the good wishes, of the venerable Clarkson, than whom no one is more competent to judge of any measures in which Africa is concerned, or more acutely sensible to every thing which can prejudice her or her injured sons. Let it not be supposed that he has abandoned the cause of Liberia, in the foundation of which he took an active part, because, at the close of an active and well-spent life, encumbered with the various infirmities of age, he does not come forward to join in discussions which could not be otherwise than painful to him, inasmuch as they would bring him into apparent collision with some of his oldest friends. Let it be enough for the foes as well as the friends of Elliott Cresson and Liberia to know, that the blessings of the venerable Clarkson rest upon both.

In the preceding pages of this defence, I have not only pointed out and endeavoured to reply to some of the objections urged against the Colonization Society, but have exhibited some of the unfair means by which this attack has been conducted. It might have been thought enough for the weight of these, and the harsh and opprobrious language by which they have been too often accompanied, to rest upon the foreigner who has visited our hospitable country. This, however, has not been the case. Unfounded personal attacks have been promulgated to annoy and defeat him. He has been accused of representing to the English, that the objects of the Colonization Society were different from those which it avows in America; yet his assertions have ever been supported by the public statements of that society, and by the facts which he adduced. Some of the charges are so contradictory, that they convey their own refutation. Individuals have insinuated, that, instead of the great sacrifice of time and fortune which he is making, he is really a mercenary agent. I need scarcely say, that Elliott Cresson's resources and connections are too well known for this insinuation to give him any uneasiness: I merely mention it as a proof of the disposition with which he has had to contend. He has been spoken of as raising money under false pretences; and a speaker at a Meeting called for the purpose of opposing Elliott Cresson and the Colonization Society, declared that they would put a stop to Elliott Cresson's going about robbing the British public. But, I would ask, with the utmost confidence, whether any one who has contributed to the comparatively small sum which has been

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raised in this country for the Colonization Society, and refers to the acknowledgment of it, not only by Elliott Cresson, but by the Colonization Society itself, and reflects on the amount of good which the managers of that society, by their rigid economy, have been able to effect, will venture to assert, either that his contribution has been obtained from him under a false pretence, or that he would wish to recall the gift? In a document proceeding from the Anti-Slavery's address in Aldermanbury, and which, though not sanctioned by the society's name, has been circulated at its expense, Elliott Cresson is styled an impostor by William Lloyd Garrison, who, during his stay in this country, was ostensibly connected with the Anti-Slavery Society. To that society Elliott Cresson was officially introduced, on his arrival in this country, as the Agent of the Colonization Society. Yet the publication of the letter containing that introduction has in vain been called for, in answer to the libel; and application for it, for the same purpose, has been equally unsuccessful.

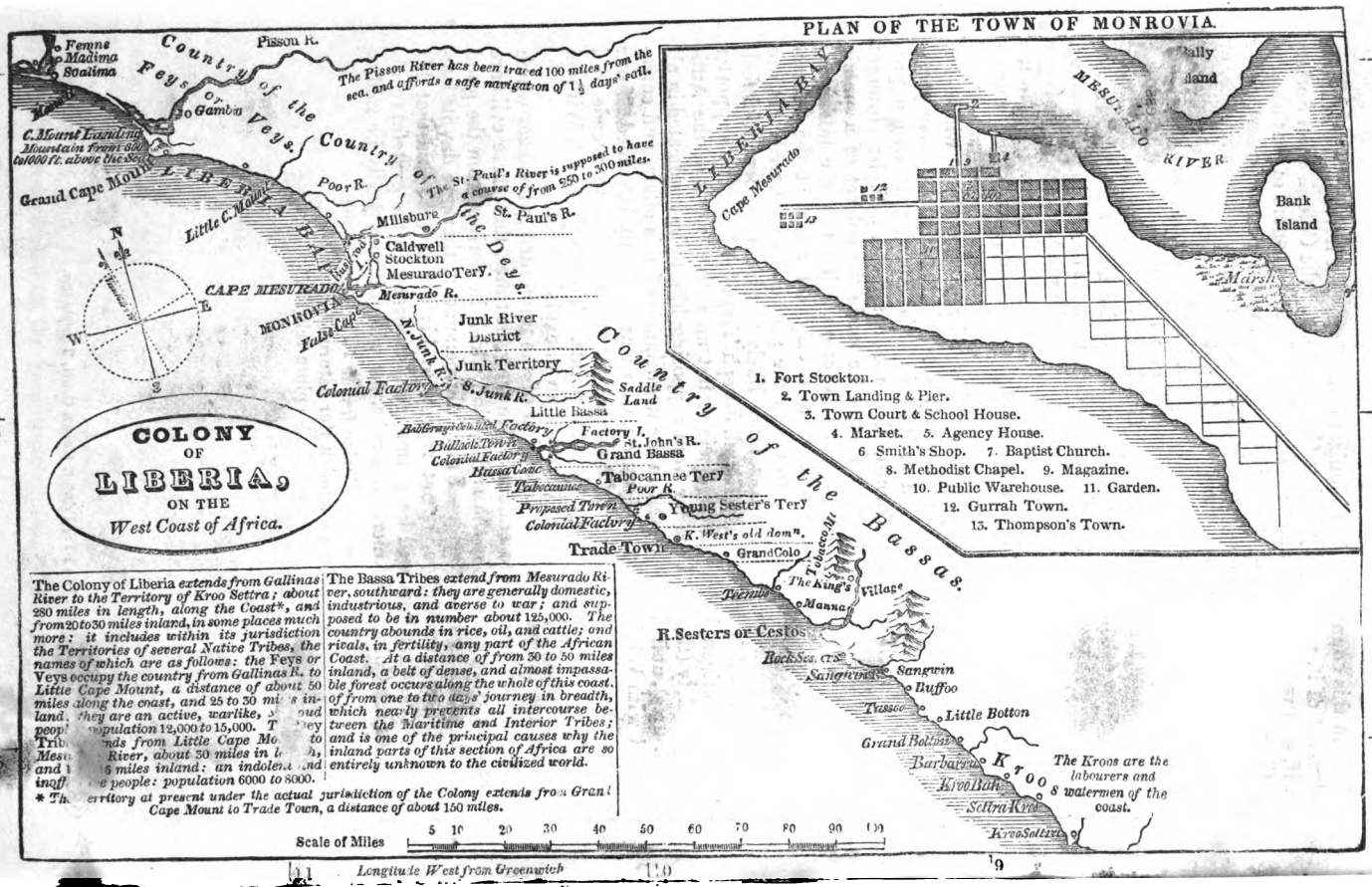
I must be allowed to correct another misrepresentation, which has been much insisted on and extensively disseminated by the same party. When William Lloyd Garrison arrived in this country, it was a proposal of himself and his friends, that the charges which he brought against the Colonization Society should be made the subject of a public discussion between himself and Elliott Cresson. To this the latter was perfectly willing to accede; and it was only set aside at the recommendation of some individuals to whom the subject was referred. It was feared, that such an occasion was more likely to give rise to painful feelings, than to elicit truth. My friend, Joseph Tregelles Price, no supporter of the American Colonization Society, but an active friend of the Anti-Slavery Society (though I am far from supposing him to be implicated in all its measures), united with myself in the negociation of this affair, and corresponded with William Lloyd Garrison, who was distinctly informed of our reasons for setting aside the public discussion, and solicited to accede to a more private conference on the disputed points. To this proposal, William Lloyd Garrison and his friends returned an unexplained refusal.

I will not longer extend a repetition of the unmerited grievances which Elliott Cresson has had to endure. He feels, at times, that these evils are more than compensated by the satisfaction which he derives from the good work in which he is engaged. I am fully persuaded, that one day its success will bring conviction, if not regret, to his opponents; and that his name and his exertions will be permanently recorded in the grateful recollection of the Colonized American Blacks, for whom it may justly be said,

——— "sine fraude - - -
Liberum munivit iter daturus
plura relictis."

R. WATTS, Printer, Crown Court, Temple Bar.

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The Colony of Liberia *extends from Gallinas River to the Territory of Kroo Settra; about 280 miles in length, along the Coast*, and from 20 to 30 miles inland, in some places much more: it includes within its jurisdiction the Territories of several Native Tribes, the names of which are as follows: the Feys or Veys occupy the country from Gallinas R. to Little Cape Mount, a distance of about 50 miles along the coast, and 25 to 30 miles inland. They are an active, warlike, [illegible] people: population 12,000 to 15,000. The Tribes from Little Cape Mount to Mesurado River, about 30 miles in length, and [illegible] miles inland: an indolent and inoffensive people: population 6000 to 8000.*

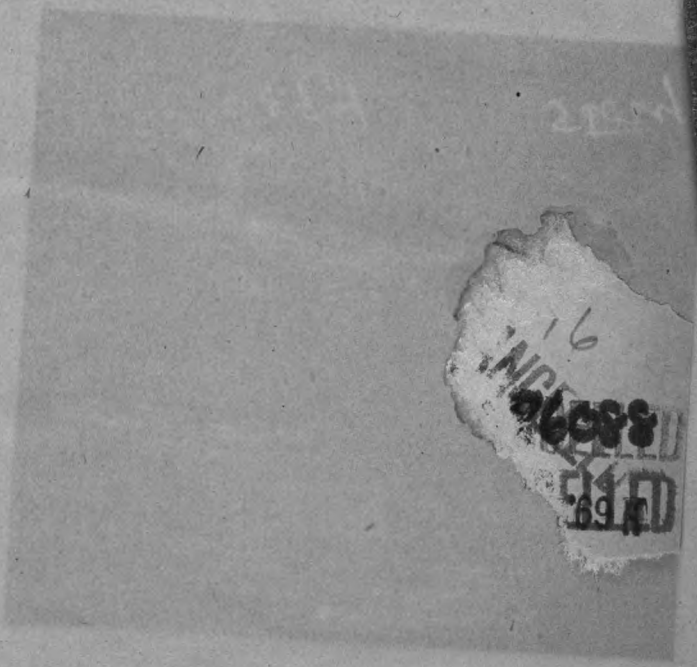
* The territory at present under the actual jurisdiction of the Colony extends from Grand Cape Mount to Trade Town, a distance of about 150 miles.

The Bassa Tribes *extend from Mesurado River, southward: they are generally domestic, industrious, and averse to war; and supposed to be in number about* 125,000. *The country abounds in rice, oil, and cattle; and rivals, in fertility, any part of the African Coast. At a distance of from 30 to 50 miles inland, a belt of dense, and almost impassable forest occurs along the whole of this coast, of from one to two days' journey in breadth, which nearly prevents all intercourse between the Maritime and Interior Tribes; and is one of the principal causes why the inland parts of this section of Africa are so entirely unknown to the civilized world.*

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